January · 15c

The Strange Friends OF CONGRESSMAN DIES

An Exposure

End Lynching!

WALTER WHITE

Justice for the Foreign Born

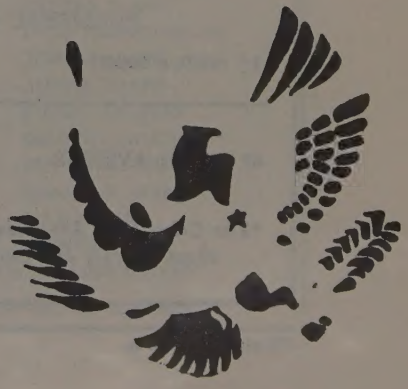
ERNEST HEMINGWAY and W. A. NEILSON

Also

In Defense of the Bill of Rights

Roger Williams:
First American Democrat

BY ALBERT DEUTSCH



A Veteran

FIGHTER FOR DEMOCRACY . . .

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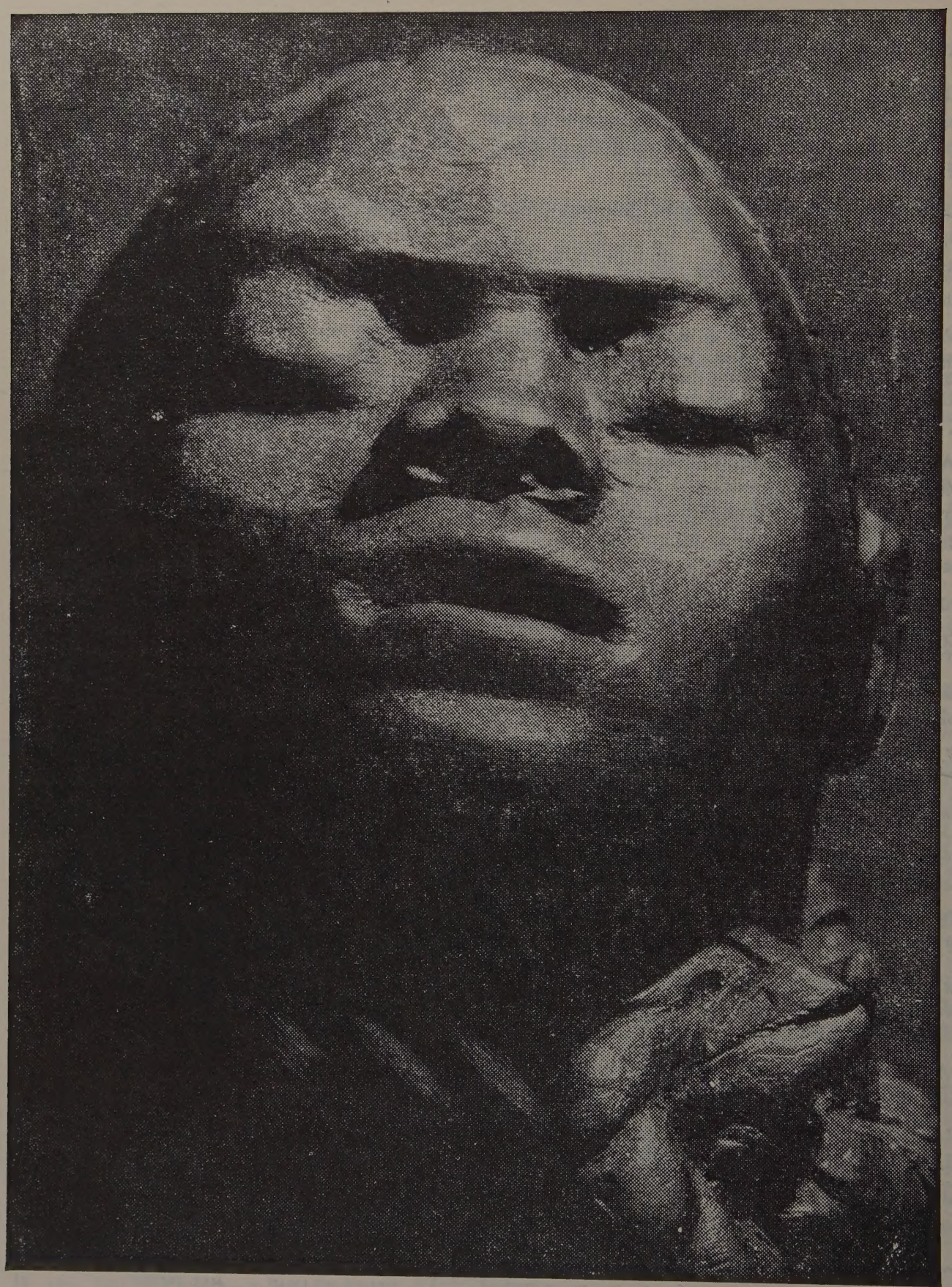


"LYNCHING"

Photograph by ELIOT ELISOFON

DETAIL FROM SCULPTURE IN WOOD —BY NAT WERNER

ENDLYNCHING!

by

WALTER WHITE

Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WHEN Congress convenes in Washington January 3, the nation's lawmakers will be faced again with the obligation of passing a Federal Anti-Lynching Bill, which is scheduled to come up on the floor of the House for a vote Monday, January 8.

That date will mark the twenty-fourth anniversary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's first full-fledged drive to remove this sore from American life. Passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill by the House of Representatives on January 26, 1922, by a vote of 230-119, and the subsequent failure of the bill to pass the Senate, marked the culmination of this first national campaign.

For purposes of historical accuracy it is important to point out that, although Federal legislation against lynching was suggested as far back as 1888, a Negro Representative from North Carolina, George White, introduced the first Federal Anti-Lynching Bill in the United States Congress in 1901. Congress, at that time, refused to consider the legislation. Mr. White was the last of the famous Negro national legislators produced by the Reconstruction period to sit in Congress prior to Oscar DePriest (R.) of Chicago, who was elected in 1929.

This peculiar brand of barbarism, lynching, is so utterly American in quality and design that many of our citizens have come to accept it as a natural phase of our country's folkways.

Indeed, many of these American citizens, visiting the shores of foreign lands, have expressed surprise, confusion, and finally hurt indignation over the condemnation heaped upon us by other peoples who simply cannot understand how we can regard lynching as a natural phenomenon of American life and still label ourselves a democracy.

Curiously enough, it was this same piece of American barbarism that Adolf Hitler flung in the teeth of America a few months ago by way of mocking us for daring to express horror at his inhumane treatment of the Jewish minority in the German Reich, while blandly ignoring an American practice which has taken a toll of 5,125 lives of Negro and white citizens in this country since 1882, when formal statistics on the crime first appeared.

And yet the fight waged against lynching has won many friends, people who are beginning to understand more clearly now that the liberties of the American people as a whole, which we had taken for granted, are being whittled away by reactionaries right under our eyes.

The American people are beginning to see that our country's failure to attack the crime of lynching at its

economic roots, our failure to implement moral indignation and ineffective state laws with federal legislation, has helped to undermine the ground from under the semblance of democracy that characterizes the country as a whole.

Thus we have more than a score of national organizations including the two great branches of organized labor, the C. I. O. and A. F. of L., signing petitions and passing resolutions at their conventions backing passage of a federal Anti-Lynching Bill. Those within the ranks of labor, religion, education, literature, art, and science are coming forward to participate actively in the fight to combat those forces in American life which seek to turn back the clock by openly or tacitly condoning this crime that gives the lie to our assertion that democracy is alive and strong.

If the friends of anti-lynching legislation have grown in number and become more articulate, the enemies of this legislation have by no means been asleep or silent. Just as the number of lynchings has shown a decrease in the last few years (there were five in 1939, three Negroes and two whites), but a rise in the bestiality and violence of their execution, so the outright proponents of this evil have decreased but become more vehement in their outbursts against those who suffer from the crime and those who wish to fight it with the arm of federal legislation.

That is why it is important for every citizen, every organization, every section of our population to give thought, energy, and money to this fight.

For today, the enemies of civil liberties in America are holding a field day. They are throwing caution to the winds. They are preparing the ground for wiping out the civil liberties not only of minority groups, but of the American people as a whole. And these enemies are not only in the mob but in the halls of Congress.

When the Gavagan-Fish Anti-Lynching Bill (H.R. 801) comes up on the floor of the House, it must have behind it the full force of an articulate American public opinion that will see to it that this bill is passed in the House and later in the Senate.

This will require the united support and financial aid of all progressive organizations and individuals.

This is the time to write your Congressman, tell him to be in Washington and on the floor of the House when this bill, which stands first on the House calendar, comes up January 8. Tell him by letter, by delegation, by phone call. Let him know that you, his constituents, expect him to support this bill, not because it will wipe out lynching, but because it will forge another link in strengthening democracy here.

Tell your Senator that you want him to vote for the bill which is sponsored in the Senate by Senators Wagner, Van Nuys and Capper (S845), and to vote for cloture (limitation of debate) to prevent filibusterers from knifing and killing it in the upper House.

Passage of this bill will test our belief in full citizenship for the Negro as well as every other minority voice in American life. The support behind the Anti-Lynching Bill during this session of Congress will demonstrate the honesty of America's expression of her belief in democracy.

Labor Opposes Racism

BY JAMES B. CAREY, Secretary, C.I.O.

WE OF the labor movement have reason to believe that least of all are the sponsors of such hatreds deceived by their own propaganda. These sponsors know quite well that there is no basis in morals or reason for anti-Semitism. But they find it profitable to hoodwink their victims into thoughts and acts of anti-Semitism.

Let us all—Catholics and non-Catholics alike—beware of playing into the hands of the professional Merchants of Hate by accepting their definition of the issue. The issue is not and never will be anti-Semitism. Even though we align—as I know we can—the vast majority of all Americans on the side of fair play and friendliness to all racial, religious or language sections of the population, we will have failed if we accept anti-Semitism as a bona fide issue.

Not until we have shown up the essential fraud back of anti-Semitism shall we have succeeded. Not until we have shown everyone that anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, anti-this and anti-that are usually tricks to keep hidden the real issues, shall we have set our feet on the right road.

The right road is con-struction, not de-struction; the way of love, not hatred; the way of life and better life, not the way of violence and death. The real issues arise from the Christian and American right of all people in the United States, expressing themselves in full democracy, to build for themselves a world that will work in harmony with rather than counter to the highest precepts in Christian conduct.—*The Voice*, November, 1939.

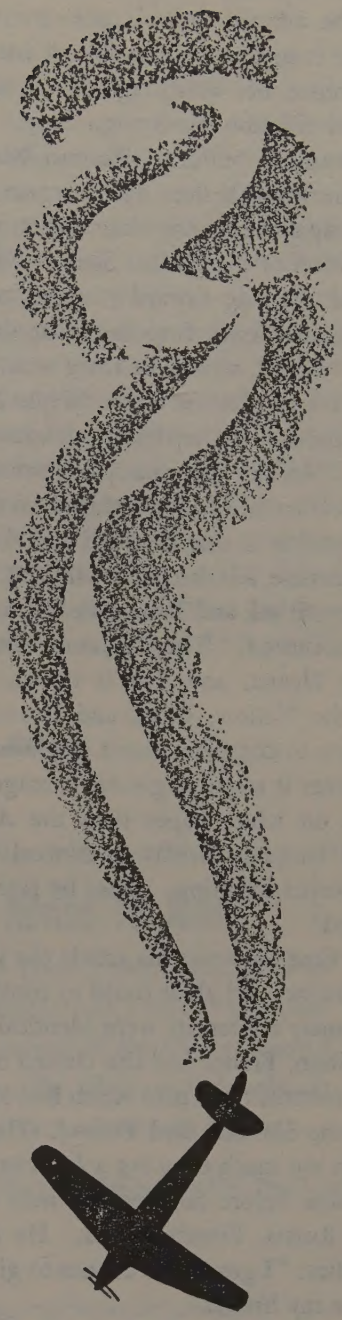
COLONEL CHARLES A. LINDBERGH contributes an article to the November issue of *Readers Digest*, entitled "Aviation, Geography, and Race." In this article he asserts that aviation "is a tool specially shaped for Western hands, a scientific art which others only copy in a mediocre fashion, another barrier between the teeming millions of Asia and the Grecian inheritance of Europe—one of those priceless possessions which permit the White race to live at all in a pressing sea of Yellow, Black, and Brown."

Then he goes on to tell that "mountains, coastlines, great distances, ground fortifications, all those safeguards of past generations, lose their old significance as man takes to his wings." Military strength, he writes, has become more dynamic and less tangible. There seems no way to agree on the rights it brings to some and takes from others. The rights of men within a nation are readjusted in each generation. But among nations themselves there is no similar provision to reward virility and penalize decay, except by the strength of the armies.

"Our civilization depends," he continues, "on a united strength among ourselves . . . on an English fleet, a German air force, a French army, an American nation." And while we stand poised for battle, "Oriental guns are turning westward, Asia presses toward us on the Russian border, all foreign races stir restlessly. . . . It is our turn to guard our heritage from Mongol and Persian and Moor, before we become engulfed in a foreign sea." He winds up: "We can have peace and security only so long as we band together to preserve that most priceless possession, our inheritance of European blood, only so long as we guard ourselves against attack by foreign armies and dilution by foreign races."

Colonel Lindbergh is one of the great heroes of the age. I am unashamed to admit that my hero is that cancer specialist who exposed himself to lethal X-rays in his research work. He is dead now; his name is forgotten. He tried to save others, with no thought of reward, heavenly or earthly. In my scale of values the man who consciously sacrifices himself for the sake of progress towers far above the one who stakes his future on the whims of fortune. But this age—perhaps all ages—prefer spectacular heroes. It lacks the time to discover self-effacing heroes in laboratories. Perhaps it is better that it should be so. Dragging these men into the limelight they, too, might lose their balance, the victims of dazzling publicity.

We must take our age as it is, with its own heroes. If the article to which I refer had been written by a



Lindbergh's TAILSPIN

by EMIL LENGYEL

less illustrious author it would receive scant attention. It would be difficult to pack more contradictions into one article than Colonel Lindbergh has done. In the same sentence he warns against attack by foreign armies and dilution by foreign races. At the same time, he wants to build a "Western Wall of race and arms"—the English fleet, the German air force, the French army and the American nation preventing the racial dilution of the United States. When he writes about Asia pressing toward America on the Russian border, he may have forgotten that she is doing so because of Hitler, whose air force would have to help in saving the civilization of the White Man. Foreign races do, indeed, stir restlessly—because of the champion of Nordic supremacy—Germany's Genghis Khan. Persian and Moor feel that even their civilization is superior to that of the Third Reich. In spite of the Japanese advance, it is difficult for me to see the Yellow, Black and Brown Perils insofar as America is concerned. They remind me of William Randolph Hearst, and that is no pleasant memory. Perhaps the Yellow, Black and Brown would have better cause to complain about the White Peril.

Sometimes it requires greater courage to face a row of words on white paper than the Atlantic Ocean. Confused language seems to conceal Colonel Lindbergh's deeper meaning. Does he fear of being misunderstood?

At the time he wrote his article the German Propaganda Ministry did all it could to convince the world that Germany's interests were identical with those of Great Britain, France and the United States. Within eighteen months the Third Reich had swallowed Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. The speed would have been too much even for a *boa constrictor*. Hitler needed time before tackling his next opponent: the Balkans, Russia, France, or all. He made his offer to the Allies: "I give you a chance to give me a chance to recover my breath."

When the Allies demurred, he called them warmongers and criminals. The English fleet, the German air force, the French army and the American nation cooperating in the service of "peace" was then the strategical objective of Dr. Goebbels' heavy propaganda batteries. The introduction of this theme into an article by Lindbergh upheld the official Nazi policy, unconsciously, let us assume.

If a hero—or no hero—endorses the policy of the Third Reich, it is his business. But Colonel Lindbergh goes much further when he introduces the racial question, and that, definitely, is our concern. When Lindbergh treads this ground, not even his great prestige should render him immune to criticism.

Racial propaganda is penetrating the United States. German leaflets are circulated; Nazi broadcasts are easily received in the vast open spaces of the Middle West. Luckily, the Nazis are as deficient in the knowledge of human nature as in tact. Their lack of subtlety defeats their aim. The clumsy propaganda of the German-American "Bund" advertises their failure. But racial intolerance is spreading, even though Hitler could be no less popular in this country than he is. It is a potent drug, attracting the inferior to whom it imparts the self-assurance of superiority. It fills him with inexpensive pride, easy to achieve because attaching to physical traits. "I am an *Uebermensch* (superman) because I am blond." The addicts of this poison despise brain, which lacks a clearly perceptible color.

Racial tolerance has made Great Britain and this country great. English snobs, it is true, have convinced themselves that theirs is a superior race. Would they be able to distinguish a pure culture, as biologists say, of the heroic strain? Is it inherent in the stock of the Angles, Saxons, the Britons, the racially-mixed Latins, or the Normans? England welcomed and profited by the genius of the persecuted Huguenots, the Spanish Jews, revolutionary Poles, Italians and Russians. The persecuted have found her one of the most hospitable countries in our own days.

America's racial composition is so complex as to defy classification. "In the United States a non-Anglo-Saxon people have an Anglo-Saxon civilization," Bertrand Russell told me some years ago. "Americans all—Immigrants all," a popular broadcast hour of the United States Office of Education sums up the essence of America's tolerance. In a recent address before the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes enumerated the impressive record of aliens in this country. A glance at a large body of Americans anywhere is revealing evidence that in appearance at least America is not predominantly Nordic. Gentlemen prefer blondes—real blondes—because of their rarity.

This country owes much of its success to its wholesome approach to the problem of the foreign born. Barring regrettable exceptions, it has assessed newcomers on the basis of their contributions rather than the color of their hair. A Negro is, of course, inclined and has adequate cause to be sceptical about the practice of tolerance in our democracy. Certain positions of importance, in politics and elsewhere, seem to be reserved for those of the older stocks,

the Anglo-Saxon or the Dutch, at least in name.

But, basically, this country has been more receptive to new stocks than any other country. If part of the population had been reduced to the status of helots, the United States would have deprived itself of the constructive gifts and consuming ability of a segment of its inhabitants. There could be no more deadly attack on the spirit of America's institutions than an attempt to segregate the people of this nation on the basis of their origin. It would introduce the most loathsome form of social stratification. In ancient India it led to the caste-system at its worst. In the Third Reich it has led to the rule of criminal intolerance, not merely against the Jews but against all those whose views differ from the official policy.

Many of us have come to this country not because we were forced to leave our homelands by economic necessity but because of our longing for broader tolerance. I do not want to be deprived of my rights to consider myself as good an American as any one because I was born on the Hungarian Danube and not in the land of Adolf Hitler and of his air force. There is no danger of this country's "European blood" being diluted by foreign races. Has America valid cause to regret its tolerant policy toward the foreign born? There is no graver danger to American institutions than the spread of the ideas of exclusivity. The danger of national suicide is not inherent in hospitality to creative effort, whether they are German-Jewish refugees or super-Nordics. Civilizations have decayed and disappeared because they bred top-heavy ruling classes, more concerned with the preservation of their privileges than with the welfare of the community. The wiping out of the Old World caste-system is the undying contribution of this country to the solution of social problems. One could do no greater disservice to the cause of progress than by trying to transplant the ruinous racial, class and caste ideas of the Third Reich. America has grown great and will prosper as a nation of free people.

Liberty "and Eat Regular"

"Democracy is liberty plus economic security. We Americans want to talk, pray, think as we please—and eat regular."

MAYOR MAURY MAVERICK
of San Antonio, Texas.

Advice To Jews

"They (Jews) must join up with all the progressive forces of the country and expose all the charges against them for the libels and falsehoods that they are."—SINCLAIR LEWIS.

Today in Washington

(*The New York Sun*, October 31, 1939)

Unfortunately, the so-called anti-communistic wave, which has been fostered by various interests throughout the country, is not entirely concerned with subversive activities on the part of organizations which get money from foreign governments, but anxious, to discredit, if possible, various labor union leaders as a part of the capital-labor quarrels of the hour. Then, too, there is undoubtedly a good deal of behind-the-scenes effort to tie up the liberals to Communism by inferences and innuendoes.—DAVID LAWRENCE.

The Strange Friends OF CONGRESSMAN DIES

BY DAVID KARR

"WHAT YOU NEED IS PROTECTION" . . .

THE night of December 15, 1938, will long be memorable in this writer's mind. It was on this night that the followers of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, formerly merely passive individuals at the receiving end of a loud-speaker blaring forth from Royal Oak, Michigan, congregated under one roof, New York's Manhattan Opera House. They beat their collective breast in a fine patriotic frenzy and announced their plans to restore New York to "Christian America." Also the night of November 29, 1939, will rank closely with it in memory. It was on this occasion that Witch-Finder General Congressman Martin Dies appeared from behind the folds of the stars and stripes which had cloaked him so securely all along and announced clearly and openly by his mere presence as principal speaker that he was a friend and collaborator of reactionaries, anti-Semites and avowed fascists.

At the first Father Coughlin meeting, twice the number of persons who could be accommodated were jammed into the hall. They no longer found themselves as isolated individuals spreading the gospel of hatred and intolerance against the Jews. Here they found allies, by the hundreds, by the thousands. In the same way, those 10,000 persons who flocked to Madison Square Garden to hear Congressman Martin Dies on November 29, suddenly found new and unexpected allies. Here the guiding spirits

of reaction showed the aggregation of "Christian" Fronters, anti-Semites and reactionary demagogues that "they were not alone" in the struggle for an anti-democratic society.

George U. Harvey, Borough President of Queens, expressed the vigilante spirit of the evening when he said with grim significance, ". . . It's a damn good thing that Yale isn't in Queens County," referring to a meeting sponsored by students and faculty members of Yale University at which the Communist leader Earl Browder spoke on "The Imperialist War in Europe." Another worthy of this same brand, Robert Appleton, who until a short time ago provided free office space for the "Christian" Mobilizers, rose to his feet and cheered the long-legged Southern Congressional rabble-rouser to the rafters.

Even more bizarre was the fact that Merwyn K. Hart, a Franco agent, acted as the chairman of this Martin Dies "Democracy Rally." Furthermore, the meeting concluded with resolutions presented by one of the most reactionary, labor-baiting police commissioners that New York ever had. Truly experienced observers present could draw no other conclusion from this terrifying spectacle but that the country is going to be in for a campaign of jingoistic vigilantism which will match the activity of the Coughlinites in its savagery, unscrupulousness and un-Americanism.

The Garden, always a glittering setting for any rally, presented its usual flamboyant appearance that night. On the stage a tremendous American flag. A flashy, uniformed band from the Seventh Regiment Armory played military airs as the crowd poured in. Outside the Garden, one got the first inkling of what lay in store, for all around the huge arena there were scattered numerous salesmen peddling *Social Justice*. This seemed indeed an odd sight at a "Mass Meeting for America" at which the alleged principal enemy of subversive activities was to hold forth.

At seven o'clock the band began playing. Shortly before half-past eight Congressman Dies walked out on the stage between the files of a "Guard of Honor" from the Seventh Regiment. The Star Spangled Banner was played and Merwyn K. Hart introduced the first speakers.

What was said at the meeting didn't matter. It was inane, banal, coarse and ignorant. Far more important is the story behind the story. Who ran this meeting? Who supported it? What was its essential purpose—its net results?

For the first time since the inception of the Dies Committee, Martin Dies showed the cards he had been suspected of concealing all along. For the first time, and with a recklessness hard to understand, he actually stuck his neck out in a manner fervently prayed for by all decent Americans, liberals, progressives, believers in tolerance and civil liberties. For the first time, he showed his true colors. By his appearance at this meeting he had clearly proven just who his associates were and what type and class of people he really represented.

Behind this "Rally for Americanism" were the largest groups of our native fascists, sneaking anti-Semites and arch reactionaries ever assembled in a unit. There were people present with close links to the anti-democratic forces in the United States. *These* were the people who came to *honor* Martin Dies! These were the people whom Martin Dies has consistenly supported!

The first speaker was George U. Harvey, President of the Borough of Queens. Mr. Harvey is also the president of the fascistic unit, "We Americans." His own fascist connections are well worth looking into. On the night of May 24, 1939, George U. Harvey was scheduled to act as chairman of another meeting. This meeting was advertised as a "Great Pro-American Mass Meeting in Behalf of Free Speech and Americanism" and took place in New York's Carnegie Hall. According to the leaflets distributed throughout the city, one of which is reproduced with this article, the sponsoring organizations included the "Christian" Front and the American Nationalist Party. These are two of the most vicious and violent anti-Semitic units in New York. Allan Zoll, one of the organizers of the meeting and the chairman of the session, is at the time of this writing awaiting trial on charges of having attempted to squeeze $7,500 blackmail from Donald Flamm, owner of radio Station WMCA in New York. In return he promised to call off the rowdy Coughlin picket line that he had thrown every Sunday afternoon around that station. Other speakers at the same meeting included John E. Kelly, notorious Franco supporter, and the Nazi-fascist, anti-Semite Joe McWilliams who is the National Commander of the "Christian" Mobilizers. These are the people who clamor to "hang the reds with a rope," and with them George U. Harvey chooses to keep company. And it was he who was the first speaker at the Dies "Mass Meeting for America."

Another speaker was Jeremiah Cross, Past Commander of the New York American Legion. It was not so long ago that the latter was threatening to organize vigilantes in New York State to settle accounts with radicals. Laurens Hamilton, President of the Sons of the American Revolution, followed him

as speaker. The Sons of the American Revolution is a unit of Capt. John B. Trevor's anti-democratic, pro-fascist *American Coalition of Patriotic Societies.* Both Trevor and his son were listed as sponsors of Dies' meeting.

One bizarre note at the meeting was the presence of Jean Mathias, New York State Commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. He also spoke. It was indeed strange to see a Jew in the company of people who had belligerently and coarsely declared themselves the enemies of his people.

More reactionary even than the speakers at the "Mass Meeting for Americanism," were the sponsors of the gathering. It included the following purveyors of "super-patriotism," a brand of Americanism which has been a well-known specialty of anti-Semites, pro-fascists and enemies of civil liberties: First was the Sales Executives Club of New York, organized by none other than the notorious Coughlinite black-mailer, Allan Zoll. Next came Mrs. Ralph Montgomery Easley, widow of the late Ralph M. Easley who for years held the title "American Red-baiter No. 1." Easley was the guiding figure of the National Civic Federation which originally was organized for the purpose of bringing closer co-operation between capital and labor, but which degenerated rapidly into a pro-fascist, jingoistic, super-patriotic outfit. Easley was associated with Henry Ford in the days of the Jew-baiting *Dearborn Independent.*

Another sponsor was Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau, Past National Commander of the intolerant Daughters of the American Revolution. She is a member of the Board of Governors of the Emergency Council to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars, at 49 W. 49th Street, New York City. This is a Coughlinite organization promoted by the energetic Allan Zoll.

Then there was John B. Snow who is head of the League for Constitutional Government at 18 E. 48th Street, New York City. This organization is the distributor of anti-Semitic pamphlets by the notorious Harry A. Jung, leader of the American Vigilante Intelligence Federation of Chicago. Snow is also affiliated with the fascist "Paul Reveres," a group which was active in the formation of Coughlinite violence groups in New York last December.

Thus the names run endlessly on the sponsor's list of Martin Dies' "Americanism Rally"—suspect individuals with reactionary records. These are the people with whom Martin Dies chooses to appear on the same platform, to associate with and speak for. These are the people whose names would rank high in any Handbook on Intolerance.

Some of these cronies of Dies can even be tied up openly with the Nazi German-American Bund. Take Merwyn K. Hart, for example. He is not unknown to Dies. Hart had the pleasure of introducing him once before. It was on the occasion of a banquet held in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore in New York on December 8, 1938. Among the sponsors of that meeting at which Dies was the principal speaker was James Wheeler-Hill, National Secretary of the German-American Bund. A guest at that luncheon was Fritz Kuhn, convict leader of the German-American Bund. He came to hear Dies, because, as he quaintly put it, *he liked the work that the Dies Committee was doing.*

What does all this add up to? The only inference that can possibly be drawn from the above is that Martin Dies has deceived the American people who were anxious to see an honest investigation of un-American and subversive activities take place. It leads one to the inevitable conclusion that the Dies Committee itself is nothing but a tool in the hands of the most reactionary elements in the country. It clearly explains the shocking campaign of slander and abuse which Dies and his Congressional fellow Inquisitors have carried on ruthlessly against thousands of civic-spirited and decent Americans.

"If the Dies Committee's malicious words and actions represent Americanism—then Heaven protect the American people!"—exclaimed a well-known clergyman recently.

Dies' actions have negated all his verbose speeches about tolerance, impartiality and sincerity. For had the Dies Committee been genuinely "on the up-and-up," had it the sincere intention to investigate real "un-Americanism" it would have, instead of "smearing" unoffending persons and organizations, honestly investigated many of the individuals and groups with whom Mr. Dies is so chummy. Can it at all be conceivable that an investigation of un-American activities would not include a searching examination of Father Coughlin, the "Christian" Front movement and the Ku Klux Klan? But the Dies Committee preserves a significant silence on this subject. Instead of investigating this truly un-American activity it seems as if it were in cahoots with it! As additional proof to this contention we present here an affidavit, duly sealed and notarized, in which Lawrence Maynard, a salesman of *Equality,* swears that he was given free tickets to the Garden rally for Dies, by "Christian" Fronters. The affidavit further adds that salesmen of Coughlin's *Social Justice* were all given free tickets. The affidavit reads in part:

"While standing on the corner of 51st St. and 8th Ave., about 8 p.m., a man who declared he was a member of the Nazi Bund approached me and denounced me for making statements that Martin Dies has failed to investigate the 'Christian' Front and Father Coughlin. While he was denouncing me a man who was associated with the *Social Justice* street vendors left the two *Social Justice* salesmen who were talking on the corner and came over to where the Nazi was denouncing me. He told the Nazi that he was wasting his time arguing with me and should go into the Garden where he would find plenty of Americans who appreciated the work that Martin Dies was doing.

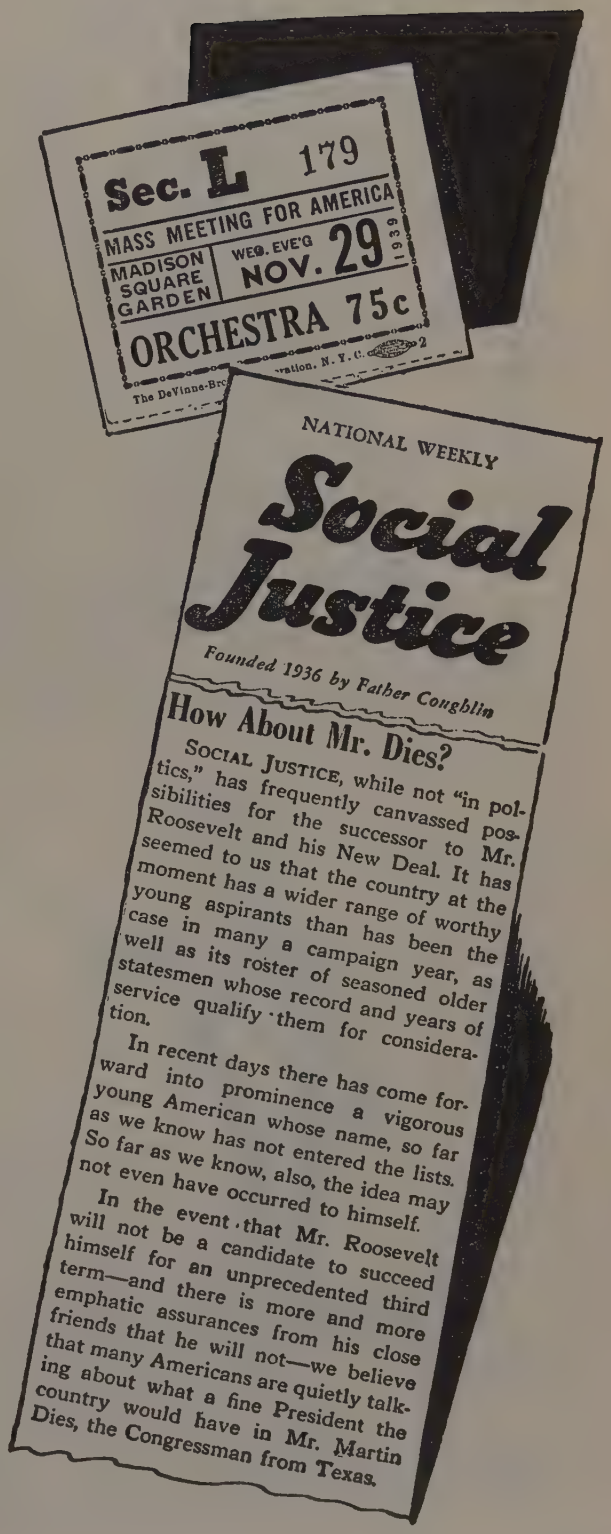
"He then took some red admission tickets to the Madison Square Garden meeting, handed the Nazi a ticket and told him to go into the Garden. The same man then gave the other *Social Justice* vendors free tickets to the Garden and told them to be sure and show *Social Justice* in the Garden.

"Several people spoke to me and asked me about obtaining admission into the Garden. I told them that apparently the 'Christian' Front was giving out tickets but I had not as yet obtained them. Several of these people were given tickets by the same man who had given them to the *Social Justice* vendors. I spoke to a *Social Justice* vendor who was friendly towards me, and he returned in a few minutes with four tickets which entitled me to free admission into the Garden. He then told me that I had better not go in with copies of *Equality* magazine because that might make trouble. . . . *Social Justice* salesmen were astonished that I had these red tickets and asked me if I were now a member of the 'Christian' Front since I had obtained these free red tickets. A stub of the ticket is attached."

It is indeed strange that the "Christian" Front should be anxious to boost the attendance at a Dies rally. . . .

And perhaps it is not really so strange after all. It is by no means quite by accident that less than two weeks after the Dies rally Father Coughlin's weekly magazine, *Social Justice,* carried an editorial in its December 11 issue urging the nomination of Congressman Martin Dies for the Presidency of the United States! In no uncertain terms, Coughlin's paper pointed to Dies as the wearer of the sacred mantle of Americanism, patted him affectionately on the back for his "fearless and impartial" investigation of "subversive" activities and asked cajolingly: "How about Mr. Dies?"

When Congress convenes this month, it will be

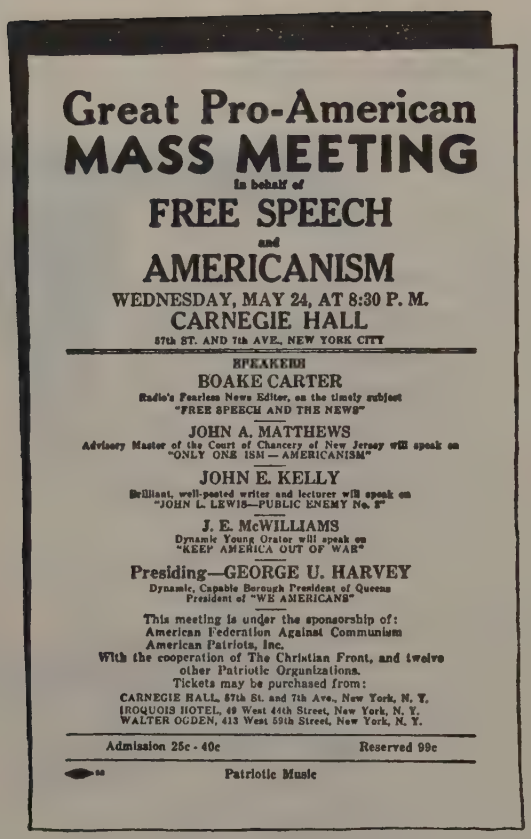

Sec. L 179
MASS MEETING FOR AMERICA
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
WED. EVE'G NOV. 29 1939
ORCHESTRA 75c
NATIONAL WEEKLY
Social Justice
Founded 1936 by Father Coughlin
How About Mr. Dies?
SOCIAL JUSTICE, while not "in politics," has frequently canvassed possibilities for the successor to Mr. Roosevelt and his New Deal. It has seemed to us that the country at the moment has a wider range of worthy young aspirants than has been the case in many a campaign year, as well as its roster of seasoned older statesmen whose record and years of service qualify them for consideration.
In recent days there has come forward into prominence a vigorous young American whose name, so far as we know has not entered the lists. So far as we know, also, the idea may not even have occurred to himself.
In the event that Mr. Roosevelt will not be a candidate to succeed himself for an unprecedented third term—and there is more and more emphatic assurances from his close friends that he will not—we believe that many Americans are quietly talking about what a fine President the country would have in Mr. Martin Dies, the Congressman from Texas.

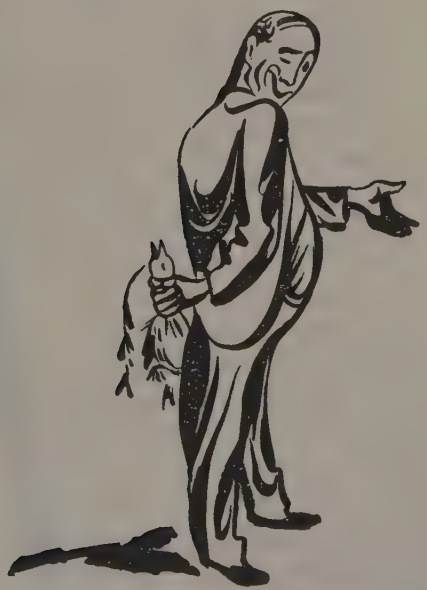
asked for another appropriation of $100,000 to carry on the Dies tory witch-hunt. It will then be the job of the American people to see that the appropriation is not granted.

The witness chair of the Dies Committee has been a rostrum for every slander-bearer with a bone to pick. Fugitives from justice, screwballs, sensation-mongers, strike-breakers, convicted criminals, ex-convicts, and self-seeking politicians with an axe to grind have held forth before the Committee in an unprecedented orgy of calumniation and vituperation. Is this an example of our vaunted American spirit of fair play? The reputations of innocent victims have been strewn left and right as the slander axe rises and falls wherever it may. At the same time, the Dies Committee has carefully covered the tracks of the very organizations that it should have been honestly and conscientiously investigating. What excuse can there be for these shameful deeds? When Father Coughlin thinks that Martin Dies should be President of the United States the time has come for all honest Americans to act—against Coughlin and against Dies.

It is a curious fact that toward the end of 1938, when the Coughlin campaign in New York was going strongest, a series of mass meetings was held in New York under the same auspices which championed the "Free speech for Father Coughlin" hullaballoo. Several of these meetings advertised Martin Dies as a speaker. Significantly enough, Dies was listed as a speaker at one Brooklyn rally run by the "Paul Revere Sentinels," a Coughlinite unit. Is it without significance that the same leaflets which advertised Dies as a speaker also announced that General George Van Horn Moseley, the would-be Man on Horseback for America, would talk? This, indeed, is odd. Perhaps it provides a clue as to why Mr. Dies still has not investigated Father Coughlin and the "Christian" Front and why he dealt so gently with the General.

The above cited facts might even form the necessary basis for an investigation of the Dies Committee by a *real* investigating body that would stand for democracy, tolerance and civil liberties, for instance the La Follette Committee. The latter Committee was formed to investigate violations of American civil liberties. Congressman Dies, as has been pointed out by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Wendell L. Willkie and others, has by his un-American actions clearly violated the civil liberties of many sections of the American people. A La Follette investigation of Dies would be only a fitting and just finale to his political jamboree at the expense of the overtaxed Mr. Average Citizen.


Great Pro-American
MASS MEETING
In behalf of
FREE SPEECH
and
AMERICANISM
WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, AT 8:30 P. M.
CARNEGIE HALL
57th ST. AND 7th AVE., NEW YORK CITY
SPEAKERS!
BOAKE CARTER
Radio's Fearless News Editor, on the timely subject
"FREE SPEECH AND THE NEWS"
JOHN A. MATTHEWS
Advisory Master of the Court of Chancery of New Jersey will speak on
"ONLY ONE ISM — AMERICANISM"
JOHN E. KELLY
Brilliant, well-posted writer and lecturer will speak on
"JOHN L. LEWIS—PUBLIC ENEMY No. 1"
J. E. McWILLIAMS
Dynamic Young Orator will speak on
"KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR"
Presiding—GEORGE U. HARVEY
Dynamic, Capable Borough President of Queens
President of "WE AMERICANS"
This meeting is under the sponsorship of:
American Federation Against Communism
American Patriots, Inc.
With the cooperation of The Christian Front, and twelve
other Patriotic Organizations.
Tickets may be purchased from:
CARNEGIE HALL, 57th St. and 7th Ave., New York, N. Y.
IROQUOIS HOTEL, 49 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y.
WALTER OGDEN, 413 West 59th Street, New York, N. Y.
Admission 25c - 40c
Reserved 99c
Patriotic Music



A Priest
WHO LOVED ALL MEN
FATHER DUFFY, "THE AMBASSADOR OF CHRIST"

by R. J. O'Connor

IRVIN COBB, the humorist, once called Father Francis P. Duffy an "Ambassador of Christ." In his first sermon in 1896 the latter gave his idea of a Catholic: "Cling to your faith, not in contention and bickering, but in peace and friendship, with a faith that shows itself in good works and Christian living."

Through the years, his words and deeds continued in this ideal. Whether in his work as "chaplain not of Catholics alone" or parish priest or member of the Permanent Commission on Better Understanding between Christians and Jews, his battle was always the same: to minister to the need of all he could assist, to fight an unceasing war against ignorance and intolerance. When, some years after the World War, the Ku Klux Klan began "to ride again," he lamented the fact because "we had thought that the war had ended bigotry. The churches, Jewish, Protestant and Catholic, had been working together. . . ." In 1923, he suggested that the bigots take Benedict Arnold as a patron saint, quoting from a letter in which Arnold had criticized members of Congress for attending services in memory of a man of different faith.

Writing in a symposium, *Christian and Jew,* along with Professor James H. Robinson, Charles M. Schwab, Stefan Zweig, Channing Pollock and others, he remarked: "There is no room for religious intolerance in America. The very nature of our institutions forbids it. . . . Bigotry should find no place in a land founded on the principle of equal rights for all and special privileges for none."

In a speech of welcome to new citizens in the Bronx Supreme Court, January 24, 1928, Father Duffy praised the cultural contributions of immigrant groups, but added: "There is only one thing we want you to leave behind, the political tradition. Henceforth you are American citizens; henceforth you will only be interested in American politics. Turn your eyes to the future, not to the past. Only forward-looking peoples have any place in this republic."

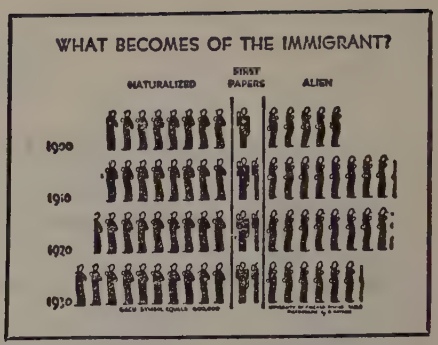
The organization in 1927 of the Permanent Commission on Better Understanding found him a willing member together with Protestants and Jews. One might say that the purpose of the Commission was "to lay low any ill-founded attacks upon the Protestant, Catholic or Jewish groups in America." He was a member of the committee for the building of a new Jewish Community Center in Brooklyn, N. Y. Contributing to the fund, he said: "It gives me great satisfaction to do something to show my appreciation to a people who are the most generous and broad-minded in the world." And the same sentiment was repeated in his letter to Edgar C. Levi, director of the Bronx division of the Greater New York Appeal for Jewish War Sufferers, wherein he wrote: "Our Jewish brethren in this country have been so broad-minded and generous in contributing to every good cause that now, when they have an appeal of their own to make, all the rest of us owe it to them to help."

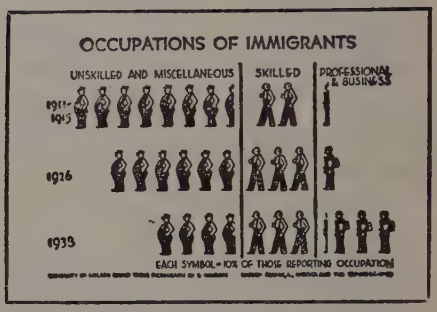
This friendship and kindness found its answer in love and respect for him. When finances threatened his parish church, Holy Cross, a $250,000 fund was raised by the people of the city to save it. Otto Kahn, Adolph Zukor and Jules Bache, all three Jews, were among the founders of this endowment.

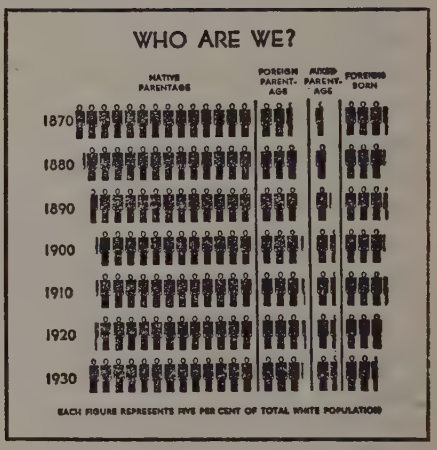
It was appropriate that, at the 1939 Memorial Day services in front of the statue of Father Duffy, in Times Square, New York, Col. Maurice Simmons labeled Coughlin as one of the "sowers of dissension." Father Duffy once wrote: "Unfortunately traces still remain of the old order when fanaticism and bigotry prevailed." He so objected to the interference of the church in politics that he told the National Republican Club: "If the Pope were a civil ruler and there were conflict, I would go to war against the Pope."

Speaking of religious tolerance in America, and tracing it from Lord Baltimore to the Constitution, Father Duffy declared: "That spirit still lives in America. It lives in the hearts of Catholics no less than in other right-minded religious groups. It is bound to prevail and by the grace of God, who rules over all of us, it shall prevail."

Were he alive today, things might not go so well with the Royal Oak priestly defamer of Catholicism, for Father Duffy was a man who could preach love.







THEY Built America

By ABNER GREEN

AMERICA is the great meeting place of all peoples, the great sea into which the mighty streams of humanity have poured with prodigality their energies and genius. The millions of immigrants who came to this country and became assimilated into our society have given it the name of "melting-pot of the world." Out of this happy fusion of the races and nations of mankind arose the America we now know and cherish. What caused it to become so great, a leading power in the world family of nations? What gave it such dynamic drive and made its wealth to multiply?

The brawn and toil—the sweat and the heartbreak courage of immigrant labor.

Today they call them "bohunks" and "wops," "micks" and "heinies." But a half century ago they hailed them "empire builders!" We placed the Statue of Liberty in the New York Harbor to welcome them with the inspiring torch of freedom and to draw them into its protecting radiance.

During the second half of the Nineteenth Century America's prime need was *men*. Men to build railroads and highways (Irish, Italians), to burrow into the ground for coal (Poles, Czechs, Germans), to

work machines in automobile factories (Slavs, Germans, Mexicans), as mechanics in steel mills and foundries (Germans, Slavs), as clothing workers (Jews, Italians), as farmers (Scandinavians, Russians, Swiss), as lumber jacks (Slavs and French-Canadians). They did back-breaking toil at inhuman wages and hours. But they were respected, for America stood in great need of them. They built America!

The immigrants came to this country to escape poverty and hunger and the lash of religious and political oppression in their native lands. The United States beckoned compellingly to them with its promise of economic opportunity, social equality and the freedom to live and think according to the dictates of their conscience. They came here, wave upon wave of them, year in and year out; the entire country from coast to coast resounded with the powerful rhythm of their strainings to build a new world.

There is no field of endeavor which the immigrant did not help develop and enrich. In the sciences, in industry and commerce, and in the arts and crafts, he made outstanding contributions. Andrew Carnegie, Thomas Edison, John J. Audubon, Theodore Dreiser, Tesla, Steinmetz, Luther Burbank—these are but a few of those who, as immigrants or sons of immigrants, lent their genius to America's enrichment.

It must have been with such men as these in mind that Woodrow Wilson said: "Some of the best stuff in America has come out of foreign lands."

In the face of these facts it is startling to discover the existence of a widespread campaign of alien-baiting in the United States at this time.

Alien-baiting is not a new phenomenon on the American scene. Since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, alien-baiting has been used as a screen and a diversion by those reactionary forces seeking to confuse the people, to incite one section of the population against another and, in the resultant wave of intolerance, institute a program of suppression, destructive of the interests not only of the foreign-born but of native Americans as well.

Chief alien-baiter today is United States Senator Robert Rice Reynolds (Democrat, North Carolina). Organizer and leader of the one-man movement, the "Vindicators," he has repeatedly defended and expressed admiration for the Nazi regime on the floor of the Senate. It is therefore not quite by coincidence that Reynolds' hometown—Asheville, North Carolina—is also the headquarters of William Dudley Pelley, the leader of the fascist Silver Shirts, who now is a craven fugitive from justice. There is perfect team-work between these two worthies. Pelley campaigns for the "anti-alien" bills Reynolds introduces.

During the first session of the 76th Congress, under the leadership of Reynolds in the Senate and Martin C. Dies in the House, a campaign was conducted for the passage of an enormous batch of "anti-alien" bills. These were almost 70 in number. Their fate will be decided at the coming session of Congress. In effect they are directed against the rights of American citizens as well as non-citizens. They are but a transparently disguised attack on American democracy. Largely because they were labelled "anti-alien," three of these measures have been passed by an unreflecting hysteria-driven House and others have been reported out of Committees and are on the floor for immediate action in January. The anti-alien bills are presented behind a barrage of false propaganda which attempts to incite the American people against the non-citizen as one menacing its prosperity and national security. There are a number of startling accusations hurled at the immigrant.

1. *The alien is a criminal.* The Wickersham Report on Law Observance and Enforcement (1931) made this charge appear absurd and hollow. More recent statistics, issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, show that during 1938, of every 100,000 native white persons, 571 were arrested and finger-printed whereas the corresponding figure for foreign-born white was 209. (Uniform Crime Reports, Vol. IX, No. 4.) None the less, on the grounds that the "alien criminal menaces America," the House passed the un-American Hobbs Bill establishing concentration camps for certain classes of non-citizens.

2. *"Millions" of immigrants are entering the United States.* According to figures released by the United States Department of Labor, since 1931, 117,211 more people have left the country than entered it. In not one of these years have the immigration

quotas been filled. For the fiscal year 1938, for instance, of the quota of 155,774 permitted to enter, only 67,895 actually came in.

3. *The alien does not want to become a citizen.* The very opposite is true. The non-citizen has every sincere desire to become naturalized. It is extremely difficult, however, and often very expensive, to become a citizen. Fees range from $7.50. Incidental expenses (witnesses, etc.), sometimes bring the cost to $50 and even $100. There are many unnecessary delays resulting from an understaffed Naturalization Service which today cannot keep pace with the large number of applications that are being made. Additional delays are caused by official red tape and the difficulty in checking records. The literacy and educational requirements are too high. Then there are cases like that of Younghill Kang, well-known author, graduate of Harvard University and professor of English at New York University. He is the husband of an American citizen and the father of two American-born children. But this very high type of man is barred from citizenship because of his race!

4. *There are 7,000,000 illegal aliens in the United States.* An estimate made by the late Daniel W. MacCormack, while Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization a few years ago, placed the number of illegal aliens in the country at less than 100,000. There is no proof or shadow of proof for Senator Reynolds' charge that there are 7,000,000 illegal aliens here. Moreover, he has been forced to admit in debate on the floor of the Senate that he cannot prove his allegation. Despite this admission Reynolds, with true demagogic unscrupulousness, continues to use this brazen fiction as the basis for a campaign to secure the registration and finger-printing of non-citizens. Such a law, if enacted, would regiment all Americans, would prove oppressive and a great nuisance since all citizens would have to carry proof of their birth and citizenship at all times.

5. *"America for Americans!"* shrieks Senator Reynolds. Should we perhaps give America back to the Indians? That would be the logical conclusion to this illogical pretension. What indeed is an American? Now take Jan Turken. He came to this country at the age of 14, in 1909, never had an opportunity to go to school but was forced to work, first in a coal mine, later in an automobile factory. He fought in the United States army during the World War, raised a family of four native-born citizens. Is he not an American? No, Jan is not a citizen. He cannot become one because of the educational and literacy requirements. Our traditions of equality, however, make Jan an American in every sense of the word. Senator Reynolds, however, is attempting to change this concept of "American" which we know and have always cherished, to exclude certain people, those perhaps with unpopular names, accents, hair, lips, pigmentation and noses. This kind of discrimination is characteristically Nazi. It is *not* the American way!

6. *"American jobs for Americans!"* rants Senator Reynolds. According to the latest report of Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization James L. Houghteling there are only 3,800,000 non-citizens in the United States. Of this number, about 50 percent are housewives who in no way compete for jobs. Another 25 percent are men fifty years or older, the majority too old to work. There are therefore, about one million non-citizens competing with American citizens for jobs, a number that can present no serious threat to the security of the American worker. It must be pointed out that all of these people came here legally, have every right to seek employment, and the majority of them have as their dependents American-born children and citizen wives.

7. *All aliens are reds; we should deport them!* In the minds of reactionaries who raise the red-scare, all labor leaders who loyally and honestly fight for labor's rights are dubbed "reds." The deportation drive is in essence a raw attempt to cripple the organization of American workers.

It would not be possible to administer any law aimed against the non-citizen without directly and indirectly harming American citizens. The denial of Federal relief to non-citizens, for instance, has seriously affected thousands of American-born, dependents of non-citizens who, because of economic conditions over which they have no control, were forced to apply for Federal aid in order to be able to live and feed their families. (Such statutes are especially cruel when they affect certain non-citizen groups—the Oriental and the Filipino—who cannot become American citizens because of their race.)

The use of anti-alien slogans is a disguise for anti-democratic and anti-American purposes. Objective analysis of anti-alien proposals pending in Congress amply discloses that it is not the democratic rights of the non-citizen alone but the liberties of all Americans that are being threatened.

One effective answer to the slanders of the alien-baiters would be to have all unjust restrictions, discriminations and red tape removed to enable all non-citizens to become naturalized Americans. Fees should

(*Continued on page* 35)

Builders of Democracy

ROGER WILLIAMS
FIRST AMERICAN DEMOCRAT

BY ALBERT DEUTSCH

IN February, 1631, the good ship *Lyon* sailed into Boston harbor bearing as a passenger a 28-year old refugee from the Old World, Roger Williams. Identified with a group suspected of religious and political radicalism, the young minister had been hunted out of England by that British Torquemada, Archbishop Laud, who was directing the maiming, whipping and imprisonment of dissidents in a supreme effort to stamp out doctrines subversive to the Church and State of England.

To his bitter disappointment, Williams soon learned that the Puritan colonists in Massachusetts Bay who had fled from religious tyranny wanted freedom for themselves alone. They had set up a society in which church and state were not only allied but amalgamated, and they were persecuting other sects with unflagging vigor. It was not long before Williams got into trouble for publicly preaching such revolutionary doctrines as that the church-state government was unjust in principle and practice, that the civil power had no authority over matters of conscience, and that the Massachusetts charter was invalid because the British King had no right to grant patents for land truly belonging to the native Indians.

Denounced as an "alien agitator," he was brought to trial in 1635 in Boston, where he was convicted of spreading "dyvers newe & dangerous opinions" and sentenced to banishment. One stormy winter's night, Williams fled into the wilderness just in time to escape arrest and deportation to England. Taking temporary refuge with friendly Indians, he settled Providence in 1636 with a few hardy followers. There he founded the first democratic republic in America, and the first to be based on religious equality.

As quaintly expressed by the settlers, it was their purpose "to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained with full liberty in religious concernments." The first Code of Laws laid down the principle that "all men may walk as their conscience persuade them, every man in the name of his God." It is true that the principle had been enunciated before Williams. Elsewhere religious *toleration* was in effect, notably in Holland and in Maryland. But here in Providence, for the first time anywhere, absolute religious *equality* was actually instituted by a government.

Williams' ideas on religious freedom flowed naturally from his whole system of democratic thought. This great pioneer believed in government of, by and for the people. He repudiated the current doctrine of "divine right of kings" as a spurious fiction. All civil power, he held, belonged to the people. At all times the "People may erect and establish what forme of Government seemes to them most meete." Inherent in his ideas was the kernel of the advanced democratic concepts of the initiative, referendum and recall. Church and state should be completely separate, he declared, voicing a principle that has been universally recognized as American. The civil power should never "intermeddle" in religious matters, nor should any religion, creed or sect try to inject its doctrines into civil affairs and institutions. Liberty of conscience was an inalienable right that could

neither be granted nor taken away by religious or civil authority. All people, whether Protestants, "papists, Jews, Turks or pagans" were entitled to full equality before the law.

Williams boldly set forth these revolutionary opinions in a pamphlet, "The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution," published at London in 1644. One of the great democratic documents of all time, it struck fear in the hearts of the mighty, and filled the lowly with hope and courage.

Parliament solemnly ordered the pamphlet to be burned by the public hangman. Nonetheless, it enjoyed great popularity among the common people, and undoubtedly had a profound influence on the progressive movement in Britain as Tom Paine's pamphlets had 150 years later.

Providence, and the colony of Rhode Island which grew up around it, became a refuge for religious and political nonconformists of all shades. All were welcomed with open arms. The settlers, who had defined their government in 1643 as "democratical," referred to themselves as "an outcast people." All who were persecuted elsewhere—Jews, Catholics, Baptists, Quakers—were warmly welcomed here. When the United Colonies joined in demanding that the Rhode Islanders drive out the Quakers—who were then being subjected to torture, imprisonment, hanging and exile by bigots everywhere—the sturdy democrats who followed Williams steadfastly refused to comply. The "lively experiment" bravely introduced in 1636 proved successful long before the death of Roger Williams in 1683.

What texts for our times are implicit in these inspired words of Williams: "I desire not that liberty to myself which I would not freely and impartially weigh out to all the consciences. . . . This country and this corner is a shelter for the poor and persecuted, according to their several persuasions." When a proposal was made to divide the common lands, Williams urged his fellow-townsmen to keep them intact for the use of future refugees who might settle there. "I earnestly pray," he said, "that after you have got over the black brook of soul-bondage yourself, you tear not down the bridge after you, by leaving no small pittance for distressed souls that may come after you."

Being but human, Williams was not without defects and frailties, inconsistencies and contradictions. Himself deeply religious, he engaged in bitter religious polemics and pulled no punches, especially in his debates with the Quakers to whom he gave refuge. Nevertheless, like Voltaire he could declare: "I wholly disagree with what you say, and will fight to the death for your right to say it." Modest, kindly, courageous, possessed of pure integrity, fanatic in his zeal for the advancement of humankind, Roger Williams well earned his niche as the first great American democrat.

The Credo of Father Coughlin

BY HIMSELF

DEMOCRACY: A mockery that mouths the word and obstructs every effort on the part of an honest people is to establish a government for the welfare of the people. *(Social Justice*—Aug. 1, 1938)

A new king was set upon the throne of Notre Dame in Paris [after the French Revolution] the king symbolizing the magic of numbers, the new king which said, "Mankind is king and the majority opinion shall prevail!" (Nov. 6, 1938)

The principle of mere "majority-ism"—sometimes called democracy and sometimes Bolshevism—is not enough. The popular fallacy is that 50 million Frenchmen can't be wrong. As a matter of experience and historic fact, 50 men are much more likely to be right than 50 million. *(Social Justice*—Feb. 20, 1939)

Father Coughlin advocated a "Corporative State" for the U.S. where "all parties would be abolished and each 'class' would have its representative in Congress." He also advocated that "the President be chosen by the House of Representatives rather than through popular election." (Radio address March 13, 1938)

We've got to say that we're either Christians in this country or not. Who established this country? Maryland was founded by the Catholics, Massachusetts by the Puritans, New York by Dutch Protestants, Pennsylvania by the Lutherans—Christians! We're not going to be so damn liberal as to compromise on Christianity. We're so open minded as to say to the Jews, the Mohammedans, the Burmese and the others that while we love each other, remember this is a Christian principle, and when it comes to law, when it comes to representatives in Congress, don't forget this is a Christian nation! Let's not overwork this democracy. (January 22, 1935)

At that time—less than three months ago—I also had occasion to observe that the well publicized persecution of Jews in Germany was remarkable in that not one Jew was put to death officially for his race or religion. (January 22, 1939)

I am characterized as being an anti-Semite—an anti-Semite because I decry atheistic Jews whom Jewry officially and consistently has not repudiated. (December 4, 1938)

Would not a dispassionate judge be inclined, then, to conclude that the effort on the part of my critics to assail my person and scoff at my presentation of facts—would he not conclude that this is related to their desire to protect Communism? (December 4, 1938)

I am beginning to understand why I have been dubbed a "Nazi" or a "Fascist" by the Jewish publications in America; for practically all the principles of social justice are being put into practice in Italy and Germany. *(Social Justice*—February 13, 1939)

The only way the Christians in Mexico can put their prayers across is at the point of a gun. And that's what they're going to do in the Spring. There'll be some fat, greasy scalps hanging on the wall. And that's what we may have to do in this country. (January 22, 1934)

We on the right have not been active long enough in campaigning for action. (January 15, 1939)

When any upstart dictator in the United States succeeds in making this a one-party form of government, when the ballot is useless, I shall have the courage to stand up and advocate the use of bullets. (September 25, 1936)

It is necessary for us to solidify and strengthen a virile, closely woven Christian Front. (November 6, 1938)

We will fight you in Franco's way if necessary! Call this inflammatory, if you will. It is inflammatory. (July 30, 1939)

Democracy is doomed! I take the road to Fascism. (Father Coughlin in 1936 interview during which Dale Kramer, former national secretary of the National Farm Holiday Association, was present.)

• President Roosevelt

"I was disturbed, not because of the absurdly false charges made by a coterie of disgruntled Republican officeholders against a profoundly religious, able and law-abiding Governor [former Governor Frank J. Murphy of Michigan], but because a Congressional committee charged with the responsibility of investigating un-American activities should have permitted itself to be used in a flagrantly unfair and un-American attempt to influence an election. . . .

"Most fair-minded Americans hope that the committee will abandon the practice of merely providing a forum to those who for political purposes or otherwise, seek headlines which they could not otherwise obtain. Mere opinion evidence has been barred in court since the American system of legislative and judicial procedure was started."

October, 1938.

• Jay Franklin *We, The People*

"There was a significant bit of by-play Tuesday when the British Ambassador deposited a copy of the Magna Charta at the Library of Congress. In accepting custodianship of this document, Archibald MacLeish, the librarian of Congress, made a statement deliberately addressed to the Dies committee on "un-American activities."

"Mr. MacLeish said: 'Government by the people's representatives, like other governments, can be misled. Government by the people's representatives, may, from time to time, mistake for the defenders of the people's rights, the false defenders of the people's rights—the demagogues, the same in every generation, who appeal to liberty in order to destroy it.

" 'Goverment by the people's representatives may, from time to time, substitute inquisitions and espionage for the equal protection of the laws, and may permit the inquisitors, in their reckless search for enemies of liberty, to break down liberty.'

"During the delivery of these 'un-American' remarks, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes of the Supreme Court beamed and nodded approval and afterward telephoned Mr. MacLeish to congratulate him on this passage."

N. Y. Post, Dec. 1, 1939.

PATRIOTIC AMERICA

• Wendell L. Willkie

Wendell L. Willkie, public utilities executive, assailed the Dies Committee Investigating Un-American Activities yesterday for employing methods "undermining the democratic process." He charged the House group with ruining reputations by publicity, inference and innuendo, while denying to witnesses the protection of counsel and an adequate opportunity to answer allegations.

N. Y. Times, Nov. 2, 1939.

• Rep. Havenner

"Reputable American citizens from all walks of life were subjected to false and vicious accusations of un-American conduct and associations by witnesses of doubtful integrity, without being afforded an opportunity to confront their accusers or even to make subsequent statements in their own behalf."

• Rep. Adolph Sabath

Chairman of the House Committee on Rules.

"In all my Congressional experience of thirty-two years, I know of no committee so broadly condemned because of its conduct by people in all stages of life and from all parts of the nation.

"What about un-American organizations that spread bigotry, class prejudice, and racial hatred throughout this land our ours? Were they investigated by the Committee? Was there any attempt made to find out who finances them and for what purpose? Was Mr.

Pelley, of North Carolina, and his Silver Shirts, subpoenaed and investigated? Was the Republican candidate for Governor of Kansas, Mr. Winrod, investigated? . . . Were the Blackshirts of Michigan investigated?

"Oh, no; the Committee could not get around to them before their money ran out. And I am wondering why."

• Donald E. Montgomery

Consumers' Counsel, Dept. of Agriculture

"Mr. Matthews has attempted to make the committee and the public believe that my office investigated 'Good Housekeeping Magazine' for the purpose of official action against it. That is false. On August 17 the Federal Trade Commission issued a complaint against the advertising practices of that magazine. No one in my organization has had any connection whatever with the preparation or prosecution of that case. Since August 17, however, I have been aware of charges by representatives of Hearst Magazines, Inc., that the difficulties it has encountered under the law are due to me and some of the consumer organizations. Apparently Mr. Dies has lent his support to an effort to make the consumer movement a red herring to divert public interest from the specific issues in that case. The whole effect is in the direction of pulling Mr. Hearst's chestnuts out of the fire.

"The consumer organizations will speak for themselves if given opportunity. Many consumer leaders and organizations have long been critical of specific advertising practices, but do not attack advertising as a necessary business institution. Many business men and trade associations have done the same. Better business bureaus in many cities have long been striving to make advertising more effective by cleaning up falsehoods and deception. Are they Communists, too? I do not believe this attempt to picture the consumer movement as a threat to American institutions will get by with the people of this country."

• Rep. Geyer

"I come here with a mandate from my people: Stop the un-American Dies Committee!"

• Rep. Voorhis

Representative Voorhis of California, a Democratic member of the Dies Committee, accused the committee today of using "undemocratic" procedure in preparing and making public a report which said that some consumer groups were Communist "transmission belts."

He declared that the report was "purely and simply the opinion" of J. B. Matthews, committee research aide, who placed the report in the committee record at a subcommittee meeting attended only by Chairman Dies.

"It was released to the press by a suddenly appointed one-man subcommittee before other members even knew such a report was in process of preparation," Mr. Voorhis said.

He added that "not a single hearing has been held on any of the matters" contained in the report and that none of the persons mentioned had ever been called to the stand.

"I believe," he continued, "the committee is put in a very difficult position by releasing a report which attempts to brand as Communist intrigue protests against high milk prices, the teaching of young women to be wise buyers, or the efforts of consumers to secure the honesty in advertising which every reputable merchant and business man in America desires as much as the consumers do."

N. Y. Times, Dec. 12, 1939

CONDEMNS DIES

In Defense of the Bill of Rights

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, believe that civil liberties are the distinguishing mark of American democracy. We believe, furthermore, that the Bill of Rights must apply to the rights of all Americans—or that it will prove a cheat for all. We do not accept the dangerous proposition, now being broadcast from certain quarters, that civil rights can be withheld from this dissident minority or that, at the pleasure of those who may have the power to do so.

★

THEREFORE, we feel compelled to speak out sharply and boldly at this moment. When forces exist, as we believe they do now exist, whose objective effect—if not their secret purpose—is the destruction of civil liberties, blindness to facts becomes dangerous, pious protestations of liberalism become mockery, and failure to speak out courageously becomes criminal. The objective effect, furthermore, is to create war hysteria and to incite witch hunts at a time when unity for peace in the face of international events is a condition for our further progress as a nation of free men.

★

WE RECOGNIZE the following blunt facts: 1, that the Dies Committee is talking openly of the suppression of dissident groups, and that in this it has secured the support of influential newspapers throughout the country; 2, that open incitement to vigilante activity against labor, against minority radical groups, against national and religious groups is increasing in this country; 3, that various discriminatory and repressive measures against the foreign-born have been passed by the House of Representatives and have become law in many states.

★

WE RECOGNIZE particularly that serious efforts are being made to silence and suppress the Communist Party. We regard as significant the fact that precisely now Earl Browder, its General Secretary, has been indicted on data which the government has evidently had for years. We observe that a charge four years old has just now been revived against another official of the Communist Party, Sam Adams Darcy. Similarly, a minor technicality was invoked in order to rule all Communist candidates off the New York City ballot. Without legal right, Representative Dies and his aides have conducted raids on Communist Party headquarters in several cities. Detroit police failed to give adequate protection to a legally held meeting addressed by William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party, and an organized gang was allowed to assault people as they left the hall. Harvard University cancelled a speaking engagement previously arranged for Mr. Browder.

WE RECORD as well that a speech which Mr. Browder recently delivered in Boston was inaccurately reported in many newspapers throughout the country and the false impression was thereby created that he had in effect called for armed insurrection against the government of the United States.

WE POINT OUT sharply that this concerted campaign to lay the basis for outright suppression of the Communist Party is reminiscent of the post-war hysteria which culminated in the now universally condemned Palmer raids. We are not Communists, and we are not concerned at this moment with the merits or demerits of the doctrines advocated by the Communists. We are interested only in the indisputable merits of our American tradition of free speech and in the consequences to the non-Communist majority of the suppression of the Communist minority. We have before us the example of many European countries where suppression of the Communist Party was but a beginning, followed by a campaign against trade unions, cultural groups, Jews, Catholics, Masons, and ending with the destruction of all freedom. It is in our own interest, therefore, and in the interest of those rights for which America has struggled these many years that we raise our voices in solemn warning against denying to the Communists, or to any other minority group, the full freedom guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

(*SIGNED*)

Professors Thomas Addis, Stanford University; Gordon W. Allport, Harvard University; Joseph Warren Beach, University of Minnesota; Hadley Cantril, Princeton University; Dr. J. McKeen Cattell, American Association for the Advancement of Science; Dr. Bella Visano Dodd; Professors Irving Fisher, Yale University; Richard Foster Flint, Yale University; Frank H. Hankins, Smith College; Benjamin Harrow, College of the City of New York; Melville J. Herskowits, Northwestern University; Ellsworth Huntington, Yale University; Robert S. Lynd, Clyde R. Miller, Gardner Murphy, Walter Rautenstrauch, Harold C. Urey and Franz Boas, all of Columbia University; Kirtly F. Mather, Harvard University; Dr. Karl Menninger, Director, Psychology Clinic, Topeka, Kansas; Professors Wesley C. Mitchell, President, American Association for the Advancement of Science; O. H. Mowrer, Yale University; John P. Peters, Yale University; Dr. Randolph B. Smith, executive secretary, Cooperative School for Teachers; Professors Robert K. Speer, New York University; Hans Otto Storm, Stanford University; C. Fayette Taylor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; J. Raymond Walsh, Hobart College; and Louis Weisnir, Hunter College.

John D. Barry, Van Wyck Brooks, Malcolm Cowley, Countee Cullen, Martha Dodd, William E. Dodd, Jr., Theodore Dreiser, Sara Bard Field, Dashiell Hammett, Lillian Hellman, Matthew Josephson, Arthur Kober, Oliver La Farge, John Murray, Clifford Odets, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Roeder, George Seldes, George Soule, Irving Stone and Charles Erskine Scott Wood.

Frieda Altman, Charles Belous, Aaron Copland, Former United States Ambassador to Germany William E. Dodd, Rev. William Lloyd Imes, Rockwell Kent, Philip Loeb, Arthur Pollack, Rev. Herman F. Reissig, Herman Shumlin, Sanford Solender, Helen Tamiris, and Dr. Max Yergan.

COUGHLINITE DUPLICITY!

YOU'VE got to hand it to the Coughlinites for unscrupulous slickness. Take, for example, the way they run their racket in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. A number of prominent local officials, churchmen and laymen are invited as guests or speakers at a meeting of the "Friends and Neighbors Club." It sounds like a homey and innocent affair, and some accept the invitation. While these guests are seated on the platform, one of the speakers, Francis P. Moran, who is scheduled to speak on "Communism," proceeds to engage in a filthy tirade against the government and "President Rosenfelt," shouts, "I stand here and accuse the President of the United States of treason," and charges that "high administrative officials in Washington were anti-Christian," and that Mrs. Roosevelt "frequently visited the Communist Party headquarters in New York." Another scheduled speaker is Father Edward Lodge Curran.

It turns out that the "Friends and Neighbors Club" is really a pseudonym for the local unit of the Coughlinite Friends of Social Justice, Moran is a notoriously anti-Semitic organizer of the "Christian" Front, while Father Curran's role as Coughlin's man Friday was exposed in the last issue of *Equality.* The misled guests on the platform were deeply shocked, and one of them, State Supreme Court Justice Francis B. Condon, issued a public statement immediately in which he repudiated the un-American sentiments expressed at the meeting, and denounced its organizers. Judge Condon's burning statement roasted Moran to a fare-thee-well. "I would not be on the same platform with that speaker if I knew he would make those radical statements," he said. He also charged Father Curran with resorting to "unfounded charges to support his ideas," and added that the priest might differ with men without bearing false witness against them.

Here's another illustration of Coughlinite trickery. In a pamphlet issued by the Royal Oak Clubs the name of District Judge Joseph J. Moriarty of Shakopee, Minnesota, was listed prominently as a sponsor of a "Minnesota Christian Front rally in honor of our teachers' birthday, Rev. Charles E. Coughlin." Upon learning of this unauthorized use of his name, the indignant judge issued a forthright statement repudiating not only the meeting but the purposes of its organizers. "If there is anything we should not tolerate at this time in America it is movements to stir up class hatred and race distinction. Such movements are not Christian." Incidentally. the ubiquitous Father Curran was a featured speaker at this Minnesota meeting.

Still another example of Coughlinite duplicity comes to our attention. Some weeks ago the "Missouri Friends of Social Justice" asked permission to use the gymnasium of the St. Louis University, a Catholic institution, for a "neutrality rally." Neutrality being a laudable enough purpose, the request was approved, and the "rally" was held. What was the dismay of the University officials when they learned that on sale at the literature table of the "peace meeting" were a number of the most infamous anti-Semitic tracts, including the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and "Dupes of Judah."

Discovery of this use of a Catholic institution for the display of anti-Semitic propaganda brought forth two letters of eminent Catholics, published in the *Modern View,* a St. Louis periodical. One was from the pen of Bishop Christian H. Winkelmann, auxiliary bishop of St. Louis, who attacked the unauthorized and unwarranted display of the libelous literature "which we all detest and deplore." The second letter was from Father H. B. Crimmins, S. J., president of the St. Louis University, who condemned without qualification the display of the "obnoxious and spurious literature" as "utterly indefensible and unworthy of an intelligent person."

Federal Court

UPHOLDS NEGRO EQUALITY

(Editors' Note. In an opinion regarded as one of the most important and far-reaching in the history of the Federal Courts, Judge W. Calvin Chesnut upheld in the United States District Court for Maryland on November 22, 1939, the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights statutes. The case adjudicated was one concerning Walter Mills, a Negro principal in Camp Parole, Maryland. He asked that the Board of Education of Anne Arundel County be restrained from paying Mr. Mills and other Negro teachers lower salaries solely because of race or color.

According to Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—"the establishment of the principle of equal pay for equal work and the removal of discrimination in tax-supported institutions on account of race and color will also speed up the processes of equalization of pay and of opportunity in other fields of public and private employment."

The Negro people must not be made the step-children of our all-embracing Bill of Rights.)

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MARYLAND

WALTER MILLS,
Plaintiff,
v.
BOARD OF EDUCATION OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, a corporation, and GEORGE FOX, as County Superintendent of Schools of Anne Arundel County,
Defendants

Civil Docket
No. 170

Chesnut, District Judge,

The complaint in this case calls attention to the Maryland statute which provides a *minimum* scale of salaries for *white* teachers, graduated to professional qualifications and years of experience, and a separate statute providing a *lower minimum* for teachers in *colored* schools; and alleges that in practical application only white teachers are employed in white schools and colored teachers in colored schools, and that the latter are paid less in Anne Arundel County than white teachers solely on account of their race or color. The plaintiff contends that this constitutes an unconstitutional discrimination which is prohibited by the equal protection clause of Section 1 of the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution. . . .

Thus it is shown that the annual average salary for white and colored teachers in elementary schools in the Maryland Counties for the period of 1921 to 1939 is in the ratio of nearly two to one in favor of the white teachers. In 1921 the comparative figures were $881 for white teachers and $442 for colored; in 1930 the respective figures were $1199 and $635, and in 1931, $1314 and $845. . . .

The crucial question in the case is whether the very substantial differential between the salaries of white and colored teachers in Anne Arundel County is due to discrimination on account of race or color. I find as a fact from the testimony that it is. . . .

I conclude therefore from the pleadings and testimony that the plaintiff has established that he as a colored teacher is unconstitutionally discriminated against in the practice of his profession by the discrimination made between white and colored teachers by the County Board of Anne Arundel County; and that he is entitled to an injunction against the continuation of such discrimination to the extent that it is based solely on the grounds of race or color . . . and that he is also entitled to a declaratory decree to the effect that such unlawful discrimination exists. . . .

Who Is Corrupt?

YANKEE-AMERICAN ACTION *issued in serial leaflets by one Edward Holton James of Concord, Mass., is another recent publication busily engaged in reviving violent anti-Catholicism in the United States. Mr. James, although claiming to be a Protestant, employs the well-known technique of Father Coughlin. However, he is much more direct in his approach.*

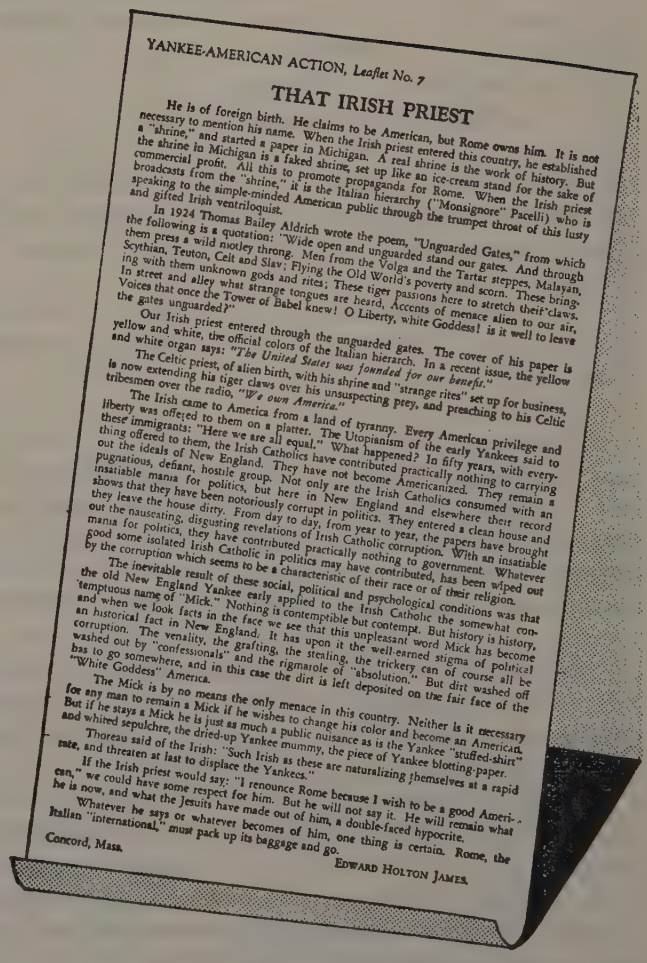
Utilizing the resentment of most Americans against the Royal Oak fascist priest, the "Yankee-American" Mr. James attacks Coughlin, NOT FOR HIS RACISM AND UN-AMERICANISM, *but because he is a* CATHOLIC AND AN IRISHMAN. *This "Yankee" Fuehrer does not waste much space against his partner in slime but proceeds to slander Catholics and Irishmen and to incite a revival of "Know-Nothing" violence against the "Micks."*

"Whatever good some isolated Irish Catholics in politics may have contributed, has been wiped out by the corruption which seems to be a characteristic of their race or of their religion," says the Concord sage as glibly as Coughlin denounces the "Jewish bankers," "Jewish Communists," "Jewish Internationalists" and "Money-Changers."

The allegation is, of course, a libelous lie. Neither Catholics nor the Irish have a monopoly on corruption. Anyone the least bit familiar with political and financial scandals in America recalls the names of Boss Tweed, Harry Fall, the Vare Machine, Huey Long and many other black spots in American history centered around figures not the least bit tainted with the "Italian International."

On the other hand, many outstanding political reformers who wiped out some of the most gruesome scandals were Irish and Catholics. New York City alone had two reform mayors, Mitchell and Gaynor, who were Irish Catholics.

Political corruption, like bigotry and racism, is not the special attribute of any race or religion.



YANKEE-AMERICAN ACTION, *Leaflet No. 7*

THAT IRISH PRIEST

He is of foreign birth. He claims to be American, but Rome owns him. It is not necessary to mention his name. When the Irish priest entered this country, he established a "shrine," and started a paper in Michigan. A real shrine is the work of history. But the shrine in Michigan is a faked shrine, set up like an ice-cream stand for the sake of commercial profit. All this to promote propaganda for Rome. When the Irish priest broadcasts from the "shrine," it is the Italian hierarchy ("Monsignore" Pacelli) who is speaking to the simple-minded American public through the trumpet throat of this lusty and gifted Irish ventriloquist.

In 1924 Thomas Bailey Aldrich wrote the poem, "Unguarded Gates," from which the following is a quotation: "Wide open and unguarded stand our gates. And through them press a wild motley throng. Men from the Volga and the Tartar steppes, Malayan, Scythian, Teuton, Celt and Slav; Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn. These bringing with them unknown gods and rites; These tiger passions here to stretch their claws. In street and alley what strange tongues are heard, Accents of menace alien to our air, Voices that once the Tower of Babel knew! O Liberty, white Goddess! is it well to leave the gates unguarded?"

Our Irish priest entered through the unguarded gates. The cover of his paper is yellow and white, the official colors of the Italian hierarch. In a recent issue, the yellow and white organ says: *"The United States was founded for our benefit."*

The Celtic priest, of alien birth, with his shrine and "strange rites" set up for business, is now extending his tiger claws over his unsuspecting prey, and preaching to his Celtic tribesmen over the radio, *"It's own America."*

The Irish came to America from a land of tyranny. Every American privilege and liberty was offered to them on a platter. The Utopianism of the early Yankees said to these immigrants: "Here we are all equal." What happened? In fifty years, with everything offered to them, the Irish Catholics have contributed practically nothing to carrying out the ideals of New England. They have not become Americanized. They remain a pugnatious, defiant, hostile group. Not only are the Irish Catholics consumed with an insatiable mania for politics, but here in New England and elsewhere their record shows that they have been notoriously corrupt in politics. They entered a clean house and they leave the house dirty. From day to day, from year to year, the papers have brought out the nauseating, disgusting revelations of Irish Catholic corruption. With an insatiable mania for politics, they have contributed practically nothing to government. Whatever good some isolated Irish Catholic in politics may have contributed, has been wiped out by the corruption which seems to be a characteristic of their race or of their religion.

The inevitable result of these social, political and psychological conditions was that the old New England Yankee early applied to the Irish Catholic the somewhat contemptuous name of "Mick." Nothing is contemptible but contempt. But history is history, and when we look facts in the face we see that this unpleasant word Mick has become an historical fact in New England. It has upon it the well-earned stigma of political corruption. The venality, the grafting, the stealing, the trickery can of course all be washed out by "confessionals" and the rigmarole of "absolution." But dirt washed off has to go somewhere, and in this case the dirt is left deposited on the fair face of the "White Goddess" America.

The Mick is by no means the only menace in this country. Neither is it necessary for any man to remain a Mick if he wishes to change his color and become an American. But if he stays a Mick he is just as much a public nuisance as is the Yankee "stuffed-shirt" and whited sepulchre, the dried-up Yankee mummy, the piece of Yankee blotting-paper.

Thoreau said of the Irish: "Such Irish as these are naturalizing themselves at a rapid rate, and threaten at last to displace the Yankees."

If the Irish priest would say: "I renounce Rome because I wish to be a good American," we could have some respect for him. But he will not say it. He will remain what he is now, and what the Jesuits have made out of him, a double-faced hypocrite.

Whatever he says or whatever becomes of him, one thing is certain. Rome, the Italian "international," must pack up its baggage and go.

Concord, Mass. EDWARD HOLTON JAMES.

A Rabbi
APPEALS TO CATHOLICS

BY RABBI THEODORE N. LEWIS

THE "Christian" Front and the insidious activities of the Coughlinites constitute a challenge which no group of our citizens can afford to or dare ignore. The invasion of our streets by boisterous mobsters, fomenting race hatred and violence, under the pretext of selling a libelous and scandalous sheet, is a matter that demands careful attention from our public officials.

The Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation is to be congratulated for courageously denouncing this contemptible group of inciters as either "ignorant of Christian fundamentals, or of practicing inexcusable hypocrisy." This is the language of loyal Americans and true Christians.

Since the so-called "Christian" Eront was founded by a priest and is predominantly Catholic in membership, it is obligatory on the part of the leaders of the Church to denounce the Catholic organization whose chief and only purpose is the preaching of race hatred, violence, and treason to American ideals. I respectfully suggest that the Catholic bishops and clergy follow the splendid example of their Protestant brethren and condemn the program and the activities of the "Christian" Front; that they prohibit Catholics from joining the "Front," that they prohibit the sale and distribution of a magazine published by a priest unworthy of his Church and disseminating the foulest lies about Jews. Furthermore, that they advise Catholics not to listen to the blasphemous radio addresses emanating from Detroit which are an insult to God and man.

The Catholic bishops and clergy certainly would not remain indifferent if attempts were made to distribute and sell on our public streets anti-Catholic literature, maligning the Church and traducing its members. Neither can they afford to remain indifferent when Catholics over whom they have spiritual charge organize into "fronts" and spread vicious and unscrupulous lies about Jews and Judaism.

The Church has a committee to guard the morals of its members against indecent and salacious literature. Unquestionably, the most indecent and immoral influence in American life today is the influence of a demagogue in priestly robes who is attempting to corrupt the minds and the hearts of Catholics, who is sowing seeds of strife and discord, which later on will assuredly return to plague his own Church.

Lay Catholics also have a duty and a responsibility in this matter. As good Americans, as well as good Christians, they should urge their religious leaders to outlaw morally the "Christian" Front and to prohibit Catholics from joining and participating in its wretched, treasonable activities.

In the minds of the unreflective, anti-Semitic propaganda can easily be supplanted by an anti-Catholic variety and the figment of the "international Jew" can easily be transformed into the bogey of the "international Catholic" who owes allegiance to "a foreign power."

Catholics should join their Protestant and Jewish brethren in striving to eradicate the curse of race prejudice and intolerance in our society.

W. AVERY WOOD

. . . Did the Founding Fathers plan for "second class" American citizens? . . .

WE APPLAUD

ARE the Negro people free? Every school child says: "Lincoln freed the Negro slaves."

The myth of equality for the Negro has been believed to threadbareness. In the chivalrous South there has never been any pretense made about the Negro's inferior position. But the North has been more circumspect (and hypocritical) about the Negro. "Officially," every American is as good as any other American, but "unofficially" as in Nazi Germany, there are "first class" citizens and "second class" citizens. Negroes are held in the second category. They are hedged in with all kinds of discriminations and far from subtle humiliations. In what theatre are Negroes permitted to occupy orchestra chairs? Which white restaurant will feed them, which hotel will give them shelter?

In recent years there has been a remarkable awakening among Negroes. They no longer wish to rely entirely on the white man's generosity of justice. So they are becoming aware of their own organized strength and are joining with all civilized white America to rid themselves of their social and economic disabilities.

In Greenwich, Conn., recently, when Stephen Zakos, a white chef, refused to serve him and three companions, W. Avery Wood, a Negro attorney of Stamford, had him arrested on the grounds that he violated the State law which, under the penalty of a fine of $1,000 or imprisonment for one year, prohibits "the deprivation of an individual's immunities on account of alienage, color, or race."

All self-respecting Negroes please copy!

GEORGE U. HARVEY

. . . From rubber-hose to concentration camps with the Kleinfuehrer of Queens . . .

WE CONDEMN

GEORGE U. HARVEY, Borough President of Queens, New York City, has the virtue of consistency—in anti-social statements and actions. First he recommended the educative use of the rubber-hose on "Reds," a generic term that, for Mr. Harvey, is as flexible as an elastic and would include practically every liberal Democrat and Republican in the United States. Still dissatisfied because of the way the country was going to the "red" bow-wows, he saw inflamed visions of the Minute Men and Bunker Hill, with himself identified as Paul Revere riding again. So he organized a vigilante movement in his borough but fortunately an outraged public opinion nipped it in the bud.

Seemingly there is no limit to the devotion Mr. Harvey has for "the grand old U.S.A." The other day he threw "a patriotic fit" when he read of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt's defense of the American Youth Congress. He became choked with emotion and found it difficult to speak:

"We have people going around the highways making speeches, representing foreign governments, countries that do not recognize God, the home or religion, representing only barbarity, and yet they get rewarded for preaching sedition by being invited to the White House for afternoon tea. . . .

"I think that the time has come when that sort of thing has got to stop. If I had my way about it, if they were foreign-born they would be sent back where they came from. If they were American citizens they would be put in concentration camps."

Viva Il Duce Harvey!

HEMINGWAY

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JUSTICE FOR THE FOREIGN BORN

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THE existence of war in Europe emphasizes the necessity of giving serious and immediate attention to the elimination of certain tendencies in American life which threaten our concept of equality, regardless of race, color, creed, nationality or place of birth.

Efforts are being made to divide the American people by advocating the deportation of non-citizens and by fostering discrimination and antagonism against the foreign-born.

Non-citizens are being denied jobs and are being threatened with registration, fingerprinting and concentration camps. More than seventy so-called anti-alien bills pending in the 76th Congress indicate the manner in which attacks upon the freedom of non-citizens can be used to destroy the constitutional rights of American citizens as well.

These facts make it imperative that we take immediate and concrete steps to insure unity of native and foreign-born in order to preserve American traditions of liberty.

To this end the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is calling a conference at the Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D. C., on March 2 and 3, 1940, to:

Counteract anti-foreign-born propaganda.

Facilitate the process of naturalization.

Secure the passage of remedial legislation.

Maintain American traditions of right of asylum.

Prevent destruction of American families by deportation.

Prevent the passage of so-called anti-alien legislation.

Promote better understanding between native and foreign-born.

To this important conference we are inviting representatives of language, religious, fraternal, labor, cultural, racial, social, youth, women's organizations, and individuals in sympathy with its aims. We urge your organization to send delegates or observers to participate in this conference which will reaffirm in the present period those American principles of democracy and equality enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of the United States.

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NEILSON

800,000 PROTESTANTS DENOUNCE "THE CHRISTIAN FRONT"

by Rev. Alson J. Smith

THE Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation, representing approximately 800,000 Protestants in that borough, recently put itself squarely on record in opposition to the so-called "Christian" Front.

The Civic and Moral Affairs Commission of the Federation also made public a list of seven organizations which are affiliated with the "Christian Front," and attacked them as "subversive." They were the Social Justice Distributors' Clubs, the Crusaders for Americanism, the American Nationalists, the American Patriots, the Citizen's Protective League, the Christian Mobilizers, and the German-American Bund. Copies of the original statement and the list were sent to every Protestant congregation in Brooklyn, and the pastors were asked to notify the Federation that the statement had been conspicuously posted.

This action must be interpreted as the official voice of Brooklyn Protestantism, and it is this official character rather than the outspoken wording of the resolution that gives it significance. The Protestant churches in the most populous borough in New York City have now set themselves sternly athwart the "Christian Front," have thrown down the gauntlet—"thus far and no farther!" It is an action in keeping with the best traditions of the Church Militant—of Paul before Festus, of Luther before the Diet—"Here stand I."

This action, too, gives added point to the recent Open Letter of *Equality* to Archbishop Spellman in which he was asked to state the position of the Roman Catholic church on the "Christian Front." When the resolution of the Brooklyn Federation is followed, as it undoubtedly will be, by a similar resolution from the Greater New York Federation of Churches, it will mean that one of the two great branches of Christendom in New York is willing to make a moral judgment against an iniquitous, hate-breeding organization. It also means that the moral burden in the matter passes entirely on to the shoulders of the *other* branch of Christendom, and to remain silent *after that* cannot be interpreted otherwise than as tacit support.

There are, of course, many sincere Catholics who are fighting the "Christian Front" tooth and nail. But they must do it unofficially. How much more effective could these eminent Catholics be if they enjoyed the open support of their Hierarchy!

The question is now increasingly being asked—is the burden of defending civil liberties and minority rights and upholding the Bill of Rights to be left *officially* to Protestants and Jews? If it is, when the full significance of it comes home to the 110,000,000 non-Catholic Americans, they will not like it. Definitely, they will not like it. And that is ominous.

UNANIMOUS RESOLUTION

of the

Conference of the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation on the State of the Church in Brooklyn and of the Board of Directors of the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation at its Regular Meeting, November 14th, 1939.

Inasmuch as we are in possession of conclusive evidence that an organization known as the "Christian Front" has been active in spreading racial and religious prejudice, we therefore feel it to be our bounden duty to counsel the Protestant clergy and laity to engage to the utmost of their ability in counteracting any such destructive influence.

In view of the report that the so-called "Christian Front" is strenuously endeavoring to increase its forces by inviting Protestants into its membership, we are compelled to warn Protestant people against accepting such invitations and overtures.

We declare with utmost emphasis that any acts of utterances which tend to prejudice class against class or race against race or to advocate the infringement of our right to pursue religious freedom without let or hindrance are irreligious and un-Christian. No organization or group of individuals fostering such evil propaganda which has resulted in numerous acts of violence in our city has the moral right to call itself Christian.

We therefore cannot avoid the conclusion that any group using the name of Christ for any purpose foreign to His character is either ignorant of Christian fundamentals or else its members are guilty of practicing inexcusable hypocrisy.

We declare that Christ is the Lord and Champion of liberty, equality, justice and charity.

The Christian spirit means brotherhood!

I hereby endorse the above resolution and recommend its serious consideration as essential for the preservation of American religious freedom and democracy.

Heil Roget!

Democracy a 'Low-Life,' Says Phrase Fuehrer

by Gordon Sager

I HAD occasion yesterday to look up the word "jewel" in Roget's "Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases." From long practice I had learned that the only way to find a word quickly in the Thesaurus is to look it up in the Index first, but when I did my eye fell on the word directly above "jewel"—which is "Jew." I found that listed under this latter word are five key words under which it will be found as a synonym in the body of the book. May I list them? They are: "cunning, 702; lender, 787; rich, 803; extortioner, 819; heretic, 984." The only fascist epithet not listed by the doctor is "communist." And that, I suppose, is because Dr. Roget began writing his Thesaurus in 1805, before Marx and Engels had issued "The Communist Manifesto," which was in 1848. Would anybody call Dr. Roget anti-Semitic? Well, they might. And what, I thought, does anti-Semitism go hand in hand with?

I looked up the word "democracy" in the Index, and found that it is listed in two places: under "Rule, 737," where it is listed impartially with all the other "-ocracies" and "-archies," and under "Commonalty, 876." This is how the latter listing begins:

"876. Commonalty.—N. commonalty, democracy; obscurity; low-condition, -life, -society, -company; *bourgeoisie;* mass of -the people, -society; Brown, Jones, and Robinson; Tom, Dick, and Harry; lower-, humbler-, -classes, -orders; vulgar-, common- herd; rank and file, *hoc genus omne;* the -many, -general, -crowd, -people, -populace, -multitude, -million, -masses, -nobility, -peasantry; King Mob; proletariat, *fruges consumere nati,* great unwashed; man in the street.

"Mob; rabble, -rout; chaff, rout, horde, *canaille;* scum-, *residuum-,* dregs- of the people, -society; swinish multitude, *faex, populi; profanum-, ignobile- vulgus;* vermin, riff-raff, tag-rag and bobtail; small fry."

It continues, getting steadily more vituperative. From "commoner" to "rowdy" to "cad" to "panhandler" to "beggar" to "longshoreman" to "tillers of the soil," as if they were all equally opprobrious. The whole section is listed opposite to "Nobility, 875": "nobility, rank, condition, distinction, optimacy, blood, *pur sang,* birth, high descent, order; quality, gentility; blue blood of Castile; *ancien regime,"* etc.

I guess that's enough to show how Dr. Roget felt about things. It was instructive and comforting to me to find, long before organized fascism, that an anti-Semite was also opposed to democracy. I haven't yet discovered the one without discovering the other lurking somewhere around. Together they walk hand in hand down the road to reaction.

THEY Built America

(*Continued from page* 18)

be reduced to a minimum. Educational and literacy requirements should be moderated and even eliminated in certain cases. The average five-year waiting period for citizenship should be decreased. The personnel of the Naturalization Service should be enlarged to prevent unnecessary delays. A campaign of education should be initiated to reach the foreign as well as the native-born on the issues involved. Unquestionably this will encourage the non-citizen to become naturalized.

Proposals for deportation, dismissals from jobs, registration and finger-printing are contrary to the best interests of the American people. The foreign-born and their children number some 40,000,000, or one-third of the nation. Any attack upon their rights or the rights of non-citizens is an attack upon the principles of liberty and equality enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, is an attack upon the entire structure of our democracy.

The immigrant came to America filled with eager visions of a better and a more democratic way of life than the one he had known in the Old World. In his gratitude for the blessings of freedom and a greater measure of opportunity he enriched and strengthened our civilization. Today, American traditions and institutions can best be enhanced and perpetuated if the promise of equality and opportunity which had been held out to the immigrant in order to bring him here is fulfilled and he is enabled to participate fully in the functions of democratic government.

All proposals to single out any group for repressive measures must be defeated! They can be defeated! If national unity is to be achieved so that we may be able to devote our full attention to the solution of the perplexing problems confronting us in these critical times of world war and economic crisis, measures to help the non-citizen become a citizen and to protect him against discrimination must be enacted without delay.

"I PERSONALLY am very averse to abridging the civil liberties of any group in this country, primarily because I am afraid that, once started, anything of this kind makes it possible to abridge the civil liberties of every group and every individual."

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

A Stimulating Survey of the Policies and Politics of the Catholic Church in the United States, Canada, Latin America and Europe

THE *Catholic Crisis*

BY GEORGE SELDES

Author of
THE VATICAN, LORDS OF THE PRESS, Etc.

BY THE phrase "The Catholic Crisis" Mr. Seldes means simply that the oldest and most powerful institution in the world, the Roman Catholic Church and its state, Vatican City, face the same problem which the world's nations face and which also confronts every thinking man and woman in the world. This question is: Reaction or Progress.

Here is a documented study of critical problems, which, while revealing facets of Catholic reaction, is also emphatic in evidence of the Catholic liberalism that opposes them. This fact, indeed, is one of the main points of the book because it is this division between the reactionary leadership and the progressive elements that, in the author's judgment, makes for a Catholic crisis in America.

:-:

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PART I: FASCISM, DEMOCRACY, AND THE CHURCH—Catholic Liaison with Fascism, Catholics and Anti-Semitism, Catholic Reactionary Pressures, Catholic and Civil Liberties, Who Speaks for the Church?—Coughlin?

PART II: CATHOLIC ACTIONS—AND REACTIONS—Catholic Pressure in Politics, Catholics and Political Machines, Catholic Pressure on the Press, Catholic Pressure on the Movies.

PART III: THE VATICAN AND THE WORLD—The Fascist Internationale, Catholic States and Parties, The Church in Canada and Latin America, The Way Out of the Crisis.

Price: $3.00

JULIAN MESSNER, Inc., 8 WEST 40th ST., N. Y. C.

News of the Month

Free Speech— Exclusively for Coughlin

Add to the seven wonders of the modern world—Coughlinites yelling for free speech. They have been busy organizing a gang-up against the recent National Broadcasters' Association code which forbids stations to sell radio time for addresses on controversial public issues unless opposing sides are granted equal opportunity to be heard. This regulation checks the possibility of having radio become a virtual monopoly of the rich and powerful, while other voices are silenced for lack of funds. It helps prevent individuals from abusing the freedom of this most powerful medium of propaganda to resort freely to falsehood, slander and distortion in the secure feeling that their audiences hear no other side but theirs.

Speakers on controversial issues will not be barred from radio. On the contrary free time will be granted for the airing of public issues. Thus, subjects of vital interest are removed from the field of commercial monopoly into the zone of free and fair discussion. On the question of religion, the radio code says that the airways cannot be used to convey attacks upon another's race or religion. "Rather it should be the purpose of the religious broadcast to promote the spiritual harmony and understanding of mankind and to adminster broadly to the varied religious needs of the community."

What's wrong with those sentiments? Is there anything therein inconsistent with the principles of American democracy? Of course not. Still the Coughlinites are rending the air with their howls, for they know that real freedom of speech on the air means curtains for Fr. Coughlin. They know that lying, hate-rousing propaganda works only when it is safe from immediate and effective rebuttal.

Free and open debate is one of the fundamentals of the American Way. Our very democracy evolved out of the town meeting at which all were privileged to have their say in the open forum.

Why has Coughlin always rejected the opportunity for public debate? Why has he always carefully avoided having to stand squarely before his opponents and match arguments with them? Why, at the very moment that he was crying of suppression on the radio, did he turn down a golden opportunity to discuss his policies freely in the Town Meeting of the Air? Why should he so bitterly bewail a regulation that will give him all the time he wants on the air *free of charge*, with the only requirement being that equal time be given to those he attacks?

Those who stand for the truth have no fear of open, fair and honest debate. It is falsehood that hides from the public forum, that stabs in the back, that fears to face the answerers.

The radio code menaces nobody's civil liberties. On the contrary it is an important contribution to democracy by making available to many what has hitherto been the monopoly of the few able to pay for it. Among the national organizations that have approved the code are the National Council of Catholic Men, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Council of Women, the Boys' Club of America, and the National Council of Freedom from Censorship.

Kuhn Kluxer Scared Off By Spectre of Free Speech

Illustrating our point about the fear that fascists have of real free speech is a little incident that happened in Washington, D. C., not long ago. It seems that the tin-horn fuehrer of the "Christian" Mobilizers, Joseph McWilliams, Coughlinite, Kuhn ally and Ku Kluxer—applied for a permit to hold meetings of his rabidly anti-Semitic group in Franklin Park at the capital. To his disappointment—for he undoubtedly hoped he'd be turned down so that he could pose as a martyr—his request was granted. But he was also apprised of the new ruling of Secretary Ickes that whenever mass meetings are held in the public parks of Washington, the speaker must allow free and open debate of his views. Permits for meetings are posted for public inspection and anybody wishing to answer scheduled speakers must be given the right to do so.

When the night of McWilliams' meeting arrived, a few score people assembled to hear him, and cops were present to protect him and any speakers who might wish to answer him. But they waited in vain. Jabbering Joe had flown the coop, scared off by possible exposure—and we're not referring to the weather.

According to Secretary Ickes, the new ruling requires those granted

permits to speak in public parks "to submit to the democratic discipline of open debate." The most effective way to expose the anti-democratic, subversive philosophies, says Ickes, "is to pull them out of their hiding places and subject them to the antiseptic reaction of free and open public controversy" Check.

Academy of Hair-Splitting Artists Gets New Member

Have you heard the latest? "We are not anti-Semitic; we are anti-Jewish."—Quoted from Dr. Otto Willumeit, fuehrer of the Chicago district of Fritz Kuhn's Bund and president of the German-American Business Men's Association.

That line forms on the right, Dr. Willumeit. Will Father (I-am-not-an-anti-Semite) Coughlin please move over for a new member?

The Criminal Mobilizers

It is encouraging to note, incidentally, that the law-enforcing agencies of New York City, after months of inexplicable inactivity, have at last started moving against the lawbreaking, lynch-inciting street speakers of the "Christian" Mobilizers and similar mobs. In recent weeks, a number of these open exponents of bloody riots against religious and racial minorities have had their criminal records, already decorated with citations ranging from burglary to rape, extended by workhouse sentences for disorderly conduct connected with their incitements at street meetings.

Rising Opposition to Persecution of Aliens

A blow for civil liberties was struck by the Pennsylvania courts by the decision declaring unconstitutional the alien-registration statute recently passed by the legislature of that State.

Friends of liberty should keep a vigilant eye on the progress of the numerous anti-alien bills that are awaiting action by the present session of Congress. A letter signed by forty-two prominent women leaders in American life, condemns registration of non-citizens as a step toward "regimentation of the entire population" and a threat to our democratic foundations. "We can and should work in an American way," say the signers, "through understanding and co-operation, to help the future citizens in our midst, make possible their naturalization and thereby enhance the value of American citizenship and the soundness of our American institutions." Among the signers are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Mary E. Woolley, Dr. Edith Abbott, Tallulah Bankhead, Dr. Mary Beard, Prof. Ruth Benedict, Sarah Cleghorn, Dorothy Detzer, Fannie Hurst, Dorothy Kenyon, Hon. Caroline O'Day, Dorothy Parker, and Prof. Vida D. Scudder.

Skullduggery in the Dies Committee

The Dies Committee's assault on the consumers' movement in America has thrown additional light on the strange ways of Mr. Dies and his "research director," J. B. Matthews. The consumers' movement has had a long and honorable past as a medium for safeguarding the interests and health of the great consuming public. Social-minded men and women of all political and economic groups have joined hands in this wholesome movement. Its valuable contribution to American health and welfare had been universally recognized up to the time that Messrs. Dies and Matthews proceeded to smear it with a bucketful of red paint. The substance of this particular act in the great Dies carnival of calumny has been well publicized. It might not be amiss to review here the behind-the-scenes maneuvers as revealed by Committeeman Jerry Voorhis, who repudiated the action as "undemocratic."

Without notifying any other members, Chairman Dies secretly named himself a one-man subcommittee. In this capacity he received the Matthews report, which thus became a part of the committee records, and was released to the press as such. None of the other members saw the report before publication. None were consulted about it. None except Dies knew it was being prepared. No witnesses were called. No hearings were held. No individual mentioned in the report was given an opportunity to be heard. We don't know where Mr. Dies learned this neat little trick, but we know it wasn't in any text on the American spirit of fair play.

"I believe," said Voorhis, "the committee is put in a very difficult position by releasing a report which attempts to brand as Communist intrigue protests against high milk prices, the teaching of young women to be wise buyers, or the efforts of consumers to secure the honesty in advertising which every reputable merchant and business man in America desires as much as the consumers do."

Statements made by such prominent leaders of the consumers' movement as Professors Robert S. Lynd, and Colston E. Warne, and Helen Hall, contain conclusive proof that the Dies Committee report teems with errors, perversions of truth and deliberate misstatements.

The hidden political meaning behind the Dies Committee is reflected in a recent declaration of Dies Committeeman J. Parnell Thomas to the effect that "the greatest issue of the next political campaign will be the New Deal flirtation with communism." It is becoming increasingly clear that the real target of the Dies Committee is not the Communists, and certainly not the Fascists and Nazis, but the present Administration. This magazine is neutral in politics, but we want to see controversies between political groups—die-hard or liberal Republicans, Garner or New Deal Democrats—fought out in the open, man to man, party to party, and not in the underhanded un-American manner adopted by Martin Dies and his aides.

Letters
TO THE EDITORS

Anatomy of Red-baiting

THREE noted commentators of the University of Chicago Round Table pointed out that American democracy cannot be saved by name-calling on the one hand or glittering generalities on the other. Both are loaded with an emotional content.

In the case of name-calling, in which "Communism" has perhaps the most odious implications, it wreaks the very havoc it was intended to prevent. Look at the British Tories! Were they not sucked in by Hitler's magic of Bolshevik name-calling? Witness the repercussions which send them to bed with ice packs on their bewildered heads, which cost their government one million dollars an hour, and which hurl into the ocean's graveyard pathetic wreckages of what were once majestic vessels. What price name-calling!

In a word, name-calling, particularly red-baiting, solves exactly nothing. It injures twice: he who would use it, and he who would be injured by it. It awakens irritations of the flesh as canker sores in the manner of the church deacon, who, upon being asked whether he was for or against the organ choir, snorted, "Whatever my decision, it will be bitter!" In the last analysis, the logic of name-calling tactics would produce a nation, not of solid folk such as our history books are proud to boast of, but of down-trodden sour-pusses

Nor can American democracy, so long as its unemployment problem is acute, be saved by mass devices—radio, motion pictures, newspapers and forums—which yield platitudes rather than opportunities. These devices have their worth, but they are stop-gaps that must not be mistaken for ultimate solutions. School children may be taught "tolerance"; but of what consequence is it if the larder in the home is empty and the hearts of parents embittered? And so with the Constitution, the liberalized Supreme Court, the Parliamentary system, Civil Liberties Union and what not: they will be useful instrumentalities as long as the Father Coughlins with their roads to paradise, the General Moseleys with their fascist military courts, the Pelleys with their journals of hate and the Deatherages with their burning crosses on the hills, do not cut the ground from under America's democratic structure.

Educational mass devices for popularizing America's democracy commend themselves; but if we think that the discontented millions will be the less rebellious for it, if only platitudes are given where bread is wanted, we shall invite the same disaster as the man who desperately struggles to save a limb at the price of losing his life. We shall be saving the demagogues whom we want to destroy — the Coughlins, the Deatherages, the Kuhns, the Pelleys, the Winrods. We shall help make the American people safe for gullibility and catastrophe.

SOL SILVERMAN
Editor, Emanu-El and Jewish Journal
San Francisco, Calif.

'Marked Improvement'

I WISH to congratulate you upon the marked improvement in the appearance, make-up, and content of *Equality*, as evidenced by the last two issues which have come to my attention.

I am sure that *Equality* is doing an excellent piece of work along the lines of its basic objectives, and aside from that, I feel that you are producing a magazine of real interest.

With congratulations, I am,
Sincerely yours,
RODERICK STEPHENS
New York City

German American Subscribers

WE HAVE passed the November issue of *Equality* which, unfortunately, was received only last November, through the hands of our officials. They all registered distinct approval of its contents and particularly of the article entitled "German Americans Are Loyal Americans." We also approved of putting Theodore H. Hoffman of the Steuben Society in the Hall of Shame. Finding *Equality* to be a very valuable publication we shall be glad to as-

sist you in obtaining some subscriptions from our members if you will send us a number of subscription blanks.

With best wishes and kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,
ERWIN H. KLAUS, *Acting Pres.*
Roland German American Democratic Society, Inc.

We Can't Either

I WISH to subscribe to EQUALITY. I could think of no better way of spending $1.00.

Very truly yours,
ANTOINETTE WOLLMAN
Brooklyn, N. Y.

For Benefit of Clergy

I BELIEVE that you are doing a very fine service to American Democracy and the idea of tolerance and good will. I feel that the magazine is of high literary quality and that its contributors are men of ability and of influence. I should like to see the magazine in the hands of every minister, priest, writer and editor as well as every man of influence in the United States. If the magazine could be turned into a weekly, it would perform a still greater service.

Sincerely yours,
RABBI JOSEPH MILLER
Brooklyn, N. Y.

'Equality' as School Text

I AM enclosing $1.00 for which I should like you to enter my subscription for eight months to EQUALITY beginning with October.

I think so well of EQUALITY as a progressive religious education instrument that I am going to ask 100 confirmation students in my classes to subscribe, too; and we shall use EQUALITY as we might use a text. There is no book published which comes to grips with real problems as does EQUALITY.

Sincerely yours,
LAWRENCE F. GREENBERGER
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Intolerance Is a Boomerang

THE REV. EDMUND A. WALSH, vice-president of Georgetown University and an authority on international affairs, assailed "The Cult of Hatred" at a meeting of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences on November 30. Said the prominent Catholic educator:

"The rising tide of anti-Semitism in this country has assumed proportions that call for the vigilant and vigorous concern of every right-minded American who cherishes precious liberties, guaranteed by the Bill of Rights."

The Right to Dissent

STATE SENATOR ROBERT KENNEY of California is no Patrick Henry but his courageous defense of William Schneiderman, a leader of the widely attacked Communist Party of his state, is in the cherished libertarian tradition of the Founding Fathers. In a statement to the press, Mr. Kenney explained his action as follows:

"There is, in my opinion, a very definite danger that the European war situation and tension may be used to curb civil liberties and the right of minority expression, which is the very essence of the American democratic principle. I regard my defense of Mr. Schneiderman's citizenship status as a defense of thorough-going Americanism."

The Dollar Gets Restless

THERE are only two things worth fighting for. One is defense of our homes. The other is the Bill of Rights. War for any other cause is simply a racket.

The trouble with America is that the dollar gets restless when it earns only 6 per cent over here. It goes overseas to get 100 per cent. The flag follows the money—and the soldiers follow the flag.

MAJ.-GEN. SMEDLEY D. BUTLER,
Former Chief U. S. Marines.

Book Reviews

A Hired Press

AMERICA'S HOUSE OF LORDS. By Harold L. Ickes. 214 pages. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.50.

INTELLIGENT people no longer trust their newspapers. Even the less intelligent, for example, the readers of the Hearst press, are skeptical about the colored, distorted and frequently untrue stories which it provides as straight news, and fewer persons yet pay any attention to a Hearst editorial nowadays.

Nevertheless, the subject of disillusion in the self-styled free but usually unfair press of the United States must be kept alive. The proof must be presented from time to time, the evidence must be shown the public, the documents must be published in the weeklies, in pamphlets and in books. Otherwise, we may have again the situation of vice, that monster of frightful mien which is hated at first sight but later endured, pitied and finally embraced. It is true we have to buy the newspapers daily but we must never lower our guard. We must never forget that they are the representatives of certain parties, groups, interests and even ideologies and that not more than half a dozen in the United States serve the general welfare.

Moreover, they have tremendous power. It would take a volume to enlarge on that statement, but it is all-important, and therefore Mr. Secretary Ickes' little book, *America's House of Lords,* has a special significance. Mr. Ickes has done many brave things in his life and has gained many powerful enemies. He has criticized the press in public speeches before, but now he indicts American journalism. And our newspapers, from the great *New York Times* down to village sheets and personal yellow organs of malice cannot maintain their conspiracy of silence as they have about other critics. They have been forced to answer Mr. Ickes' challenge. If, however, Mr. Ickes is generally attacked, insulted and libeled in the future, it will indicate that the powerful press is having its mean little revenge.

Mr. Ickes' book is packed with information and documentation. The facts presented give a thundering *No* to Mr. Ickes' question: has the press fulfilled its functions as a vital instrument of democracy? It has not only failed to do so, but it has to a great extent become the instrument of the anti-democratic forces in America.

Mr. Ickes has mentioned a dozen papers worthy of honor. Several of them are staunch supporters of the Democratic Party. I thoroughly disagree with his list, and I am prepared to furnish the Secretary with even stronger proofs of bias, prejudice and distortion, if not venality, on the part of his "white list" than he has presented in this book against many other papers. We haven't a dozen papers for an honor roll. And if the United States with 2,000 dailies and 15,000 weeklies cannot name three newspapers equal in integrity to the *Manchester Guardian* it has no right to speak of having a free and fair press.

GEORGE SELDES.

Art by the People

MEXICAN POPULAR ARTS. By Frances Toor. Printed in Mexico, Frances Toor Studios. 107 pages.

MEXICO is rich in great art traditions. Long before the Spanish conquerors came to destroy and befuddle much of the magnificent Indian arts, entire cultures had risen and fallen. The conquerors who could destroy pagan temples could not destroy the great Indian population of Mexico. The Indians of Mexico were never sequestered as in the United States nor did they perish by fire and sword as so often happened in South America. They retained their tough grip on the land and on the life of Mexico, and with the changing centuries finally succeeded in exerting influence on the political life.

So art in Mexico did not die. The great revival of fresco murals in Mexico began after 1910 and assumed its historical role in the contact between the artist and the masses. Orozco, Rivera, Siqueiros and others were inspired by the revolutionary ferment that in itself expressed the life of the people. Finally, President Cardenas (after successive revolutions) began to guide the revolutionary ferment into constructive social reform by insisting it was time to put the blueprints into practice. He began at the base, by restoring the land and great natural resources to the people. Thus was stimulated a new awakening, a new creative life. The arts and crafts began once more to flourish.

Frances Toor in her admirable handbook, *Mexican Popular Arts,* is well aware of the danger that threatens these arts today. She knows of the insidious exploitation of the people's arts for commercial gains. The threat, of course, is worldwide. And however much the sudden demands may encourage the creation of arts and crafts, they inevitably vulgarize the output.

The Cardenas government has done what it can to check this vulgarization, and to regulate the production so that the artisans themselves might benefit as well as the

product. Miss Toor's citation of the Popular Art Museum in Patzcuaro is a case in point. The Urapan lacquer, which had degenerated under commercial demand, is being given direction and may finally come back into its own. A nation saturated with arts and crafts is now actively protecting its craftsmen. It is not a simple job. But the artist is valued in Mexico; and the great collectives and cooperatives, the land projects and oil unions are turning to the artists to express for them their labors and struggles.

Frances Toor's guide may be aimed as instructive material for buyers of Mexican folk art, but it is nevertheless a fine primer with which to study the arts and crafts of Mexico. She does not attempt to link them with the present political developments, and it does not come within the scope of her book. But the facts are there, belittled under Spanish Colonial domination. Indian arts and crafts like the new painting have a chance not only to survive but for new expressions.

We only wish we could say that Miss Toor's book is in itself a worthy example of Mexican art. It is indeed a pity that she did not insist on its being better printed, and the otherwise excellent photographs are lost in the greyness of bad paper and worse ink. Other illustrations in gay colors are ambitious and on the whole effective.

MARION GREENWOOD.

Selling American Education Short

Report of the Special Committee on Economical and Efficient Education. Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, 65 Liberty Street, New York, N. Y.

LIBERTY STREET hardly seems an appropriate headquarters for the New York State Chamber of Commerce if the recent report of its Special Committee on Economical and Efficient Education is to be taken as a sample. Rarely has a responsible organization published a statement which so contravenes the entire spirit and essence of American democracy as this report which was adopted unanimously at the Chamber's November 2nd meeting.

"Economical and efficient education for whom?" With surprising clarity the Committee report lays down the blueprint of its ultimate objective for education in New York State. Education is to be streamlined down to its lowest common denominator, the elimination of illiteracy. "With the idea that the State must support youngsters and keep them occupied in school until they reach a certain age," the Chamber of Commerce is "entirely out of sympathy." "There is a definite line," so reads the committee report, "between the amount of education it requires to kill illiteracy and the amount of education we give beyond that point." Beyond that point the report suggests that "parents who are amply able to educate their own youngsters pay for it."

Here then is the Chamber of Commerce recommendation for American Education, 1940 Edition—no free state-supported public education beyond illiteracy. Democratic equality of educational opportunity for all?—nonsense. Education is to be considered a commodity to be bought and sold in the open market with purchase restricted to the privileged few who can afford it. "In having parents who are able to do so pay the cost of all education beyond illiteracy, is found a means of reducing the cost." To eliminate all education beyond illiteracy is to eliminate a lot of education. Parents and citizens generally will do well to recognize this report for what it is, not economy in education, but a long-range program to reduce American democracy to the vanishing point. This is short-changing American education with a vengeance.

Equally dangerous is the committee's dictum that "we should keep clearly in mind the great purpose for which the schools were founded," namely, "to preserve and strengthen the State." As the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom has rightly pointed out, "This concept is fascist, not democratic." To allow such notions right of way in education is treason both to the future of America and to the democratic birthright which the American people have fought for over the past one hundred and fifty years. In a democracy the State is the servant of the people, not the people the servant of the State. If the Chamber of Commerce does not know this, the people of New York State should promptly make this plain. To starve free public education out of existence, and then to regiment the residue for the protection of the political status quo, is the antithesis of democracy.

Finally, the Chamber's recommendation as to how these objectives are to be achieved is significant. The report recommends, as a follow-up to the New York State Regents Inquiry, that a carrying-on Board or Commission should be appointed "with very considerable power" to set up and define an "ideal" State educational system. It further proposes that this board "should be small—probably not over five or seven" one-half of whose personnel "should be sound, able business men with successful records." The people of New York State will be less canny than we think they are if they do not recognize in this set-up an effort to obtain a corner on education in New York State for the purpose of selling it short. RANDOLPH B. SMITH

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79 Fifth Ave. New York City

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

DECALOGUE OF LIBERTY

[*Editors' note: The Bill of Rights is the most important document in American history. It is the heart and fount of our civil liberties. Many refer to it familiarly without having read it. In critical times like these, it is important for all Americans to study it well. Preservation of free democracy depends on our sturdy defense of this Bill.*]

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which districts shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Petition

To Discontinue The Dies Committee

TO

THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON RULES
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE
ON APPROPRIATIONS:

WHEREAS the defense of our democratic institutions must itself be a democratic process;

WHEREAS the Committee to Investigate un-American Activities, popularly known as the Dies Committee, has constantly resorted to undemocratic procedures through

(1) the use of witnesses without inquiring into their record and credibility, and

(2) the publication of hearsay testimony, offered without supporting evidence and without opportunity for rebuttal on the part of those attacked; and

WHEREAS these methods constitute an infringement upon the democratic rights of freedom of speech and assembly, at a time when the repercussions of the international situation in our country make it all the more imperative that we adhere rigidly to both the letter and the spirit of the Bill of Rights,

THEREFORE, we, the undersigned American citizens, urge that the request of the Committee to Investigate un-American Activities for an extension of its life and a further appropriation be denied.

Dr. Ruth Benedict
Prof. Franz Boas, Chairman
Dr. Edgar Dale
Dean Ned H. Dearborn
Dr. L. C. Dunn
M. I. Finkelstein,
Executive Secretary
Dean Christian Gauss
President Frank Kingdon
Dr. W. M. Malisoff
Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell
Dr. Ernest M. Patterson

National Executive Committee

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

519 West 121st Street, New York City

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